

# A NEW SURGE OF REFUGEES

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## 'God Saved Me to Come Out and Tell' Burned by Serbs: A Survivor's Account

By Peter Finn  
*Washington Post Service*

TIRANA, Albania — In an empty farm shed in the southern Kosovo village of Velika Krusa, Selami Elshani asked one of the Serbian paramilitaries standing in front of him and 14 other ethnic Albanian men whether he had children.

"Yes," the Serb replied.

"Please think about our children," Mr. Elshani pleaded.

The paramilitary, carrying an automatic rifle and wearing a light green uniform with white epaulets and "Police" written in white letters on his back, struck his head and said, "It doesn't interest me."

Another paramilitary said, "Let's start."

Within moments, 14 of the 15 men were dead, all except Mr. Elshani.

The Serbs threw straw on the pile of bullet-riddled

corpses, doused them with gasoline and set them on fire.

Three weeks later, in the Central University Hospital in Tirana, Mr. Elshani eased himself into a sitting position using his elbows to avoid leaning on his heavily bandaged hands. When unbanded, his face, once angular and bronzed, appeared destroyed; lips reduced to pus and scabs; bloody sores bubbling from his singed hair to under his chin; cheeks dried white and black; bandages streaked red by blood and yellow by iodine, wrapping his forehead.

Mr. Elshani grimaced as he rose from the bed. But he was determined. He had a story to tell: how 14 men were executed in cold blood. How their blood trickled down his face as he dared not breathe. How he smelled the gasoline when a paramilitary brought it into the room. How he burned. And how he survived.

"God saved me to come out and tell," said Mr. Elshani, 37.

In a bed where seepage from his wounds streaked the sheets with blood, in a cinder-block hospital where the pink and green walls were rotting and peeling, in a city of refugees and garbage and dust, Mr. Elshani was perhaps the most fortunate and the most cursed of the displaced.

"If I could not talk, nobody would know," he said.

"Those men. Nobody would know."

On March 23, the day after NATO started bombing Yugoslavia, about 50 people from the same extended family gathered in the house of Mr. Elshani's uncle. Mr. Elshani, his wife, his parents and his two boys, ages 4 and 8, had been living in Velika Krusa since the previous July when they were burned out of their home village of Reti, near the town of Rakovica, during a summer offensive by Yugoslav forces.

There were 10 fighting-age men in the house the

See SURVIVOR, Page 6

## NATO Is Divided Over Blockade of Yugoslavia's Oil

France Says U.S. Plan to Stop Ships Would Widen the War

By Michael R. Gordon  
*New York Times Service*

BRUSSELS — The United States wants NATO to prepare plans to choke off the supplies of oil that are still reaching Yugoslavia by sea, allied officials said Sunday.

American officials said the step was needed because Yugoslavia is receiving valuable imports of fuel by sea even as allied warplanes bomb its oil refineries and petroleum storage centers.

But the American proposal to start planning ran into objections from France, when it was presented at a closed-door meeting of allied ambassadors here last week.

French officials have questioned whether there is a legal basis to stop and search ships without a new resolution from the United Nations Security Council and voiced fears that to do so would widen the war.

The behind-the-scenes dispute illustrates the difficulties that NATO military commanders have encountered in trying to wage a military campaign that must be approved by ambassadors from the alliance's 19 nations.

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization's supreme commander, General Wesley Clark, would like to see the shipments stopped. Western officials say. But NATO's military cannot do so unless the North Atlantic Council, the political arm of the alliance, gives General Clark the authority to plan and carry out an interdiction effort.

"It's ridiculous to risk the lives of allied pilots by bombing oil refineries and supplies in Yugoslavia when they are getting the oil some other way," an American official said.

From the start of the allied campaign, the elimination of Yugoslavia's oil supplies has been a major concern for the alliance.

Since the allies are not planning to use ground troops, they are relying on air strikes to compel Serbian forces to leave Kosovo. A major aim of the air campaign has been to destroy Yugoslavia's ability to refine, store and transport fuel for Yugoslav military.

NATO said Sunday that allied planes had struck the oil refinery at Novi Sad and that Yugoslavia no longer had the ability to refine oil. General Clark has

See NATO, Page 6



Kosovar refugees waiting in line Sunday for food distribution at the Brazde camp in Macedonia, which has asked the UN to step up the transfer of refugees to third countries.

## NATO Cites Proof of Mass Graves

44,000 More Kosovars Seek Refuge in Albania and Macedonia

By Joseph Fitchett  
*International Herald Tribune*

PARIS — Claiming for the first time to have pictures of Serbian atrocities in Kosovo, NATO officials said Sunday that aerial photographs had revealed 43 mass graves and estimated that at least

How NATO went to war. Page 2. • Thousands in hiding, waiting to flee. Page 6. • The air war is succeeding, NATO says. Page 6.

3,000 ethnic Albanian men had been murdered in the past three weeks as Serbian troops and masked gunmen carried out mass killings and summary executions as part of their campaign to permanently change the ethnic balance of Kosovo.

The graves were dug in some cases by teams of ethnic Albanians working at gunpoint as Serbian commanders sought to bury evidence of war crimes.

the officials said. Serbian terror tactics have spawned a new surge of Kosovar refugees, mostly women, children and the elderly, the officials said, in an outflow that was worsening the humanitarian difficulties and political tensions in neighboring countries.

At least 20,000 refugees streamed out of Kosovo on Sunday, following 24,000 who left on Saturday. In Macedonia, the defense minister was quoted as saying that he would not permit new camps to be built for the Kosovars.

"It's possible to expand existing camps," he was quoted as saying, but "new refugees must definitely go to third countries."

The weekend saw the largest migration in 10 days, straining the existing relief facilities even as scores of refugees began arriving in France and other European countries in a Western bid to relieve pressures on the frontline countries.

At the same time, NATO was reportedly preparing

See KOSOVO, Page 6

## Ecevit Leads in Turkey

Few Expect Election to Lift Political Paralysis

By Stephen Kinzer  
*New York Times Service*

ISTANBUL — Initial election returns in Turkey late Sunday showed Prime Minister Bülent Ecevit ahead of all challengers, suggesting that he would be in a strong position to form a new government.

Television projections showed Mr. Ecevit with 24 percent of the vote. The projections were made after about 13 percent of the votes had been counted, however, and were not considered wholly reliable.

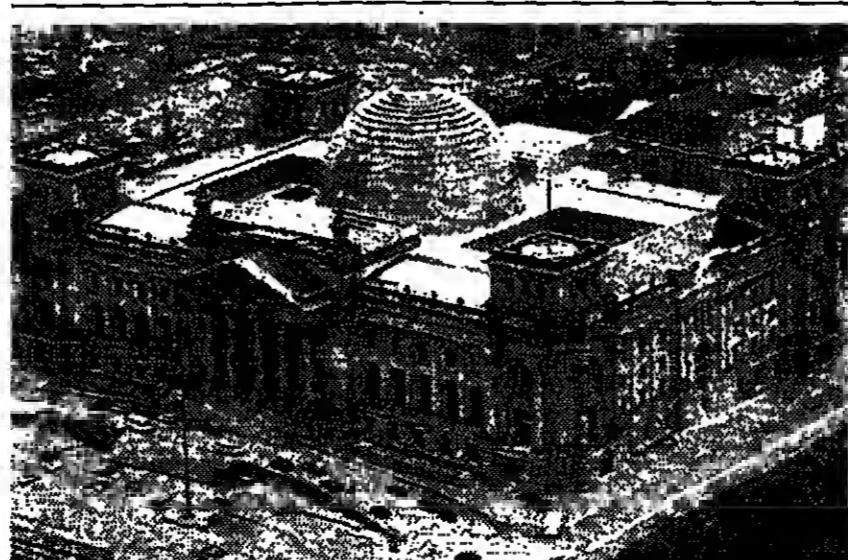
The far-right Nationalist Action party, which was not represented in the last

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Leaders of the party, which is anathema to Turkey's governing establishment and top military commanders, had hoped for a first-place finish, which might have allowed them to try forming a government. If early results hold up, however, Mr. Ecevit will probably be able to form a coalition with other secular parties.

Business leaders and other secularists, reportedly including the military, have been hoping for a coalition between Mr. Ecevit, who portrays himself as left-leaning, and former Prime Min-

## AGENDA



REICHSTAG RENEWAL — The renovated Reichstag building in Berlin, where Germany's Parliament will meet Monday. The former and future German capital is to become the new home of Parliament this summer.

## Timor Killings Raise Doubts on Plebiscite

A bloody weekend rampage by militiamen who want East Timor to remain part of Indonesia threatens to undermine the talks this week on the future of the territory and a plebiscite scheduled for July. Militia groups killed at least a dozen people in Dili, the capital, prompting renewed calls from the United Nations, Portugal and Australia for Indonesia to disarm the militia and restore order. Page 5.

## Top Executives Quit at Compaq

HOUSTON (Reuters) — In a stunning fallout from its recent nuclear test, which Pakistan rapidly answered with tests of its own. Last week, the two nations, which have fought three wars in 51 years, tested ballistic missiles that can carry nuclear warheads.

The Indian Parliament is now split almost down the middle between supporters and opponents of the year-old government that just collapsed. On Saturday, Mr. Vaipayee's coalition lost a confidence vote in Parliament by a single vote. Tellingly, Mr. Vaipayee, aggravated by months of public squabbling within his own coalition, said after he resigned, "I feel free."

The burden of coalition politics has now shifted to the Congress Party. Several analysts said it would have been better for Congress, which now has only 140 of the 545 votes in Parliament, if the government had survived. The party could have used the time to continue rebuilding its grassroots organization, and could have strengthened its vote base in parliamentary elections scheduled for March in five states.

But the government's fall was precipitated this week when Jayalalitha Jayaram, a scene-stealing former actress who heads the All-India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam Party from Tamil Nadu state, withdrew the support of her party's 18 members of Parliament.

"Congress is being pitchforked into power at the whim of Jayalalitha," said

The IHT Online [www.iht.com](http://www.iht.com)

See INDIA, Page 5

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## EUROPE

## Russian Tycoon Returns To Face His Accusers

By David Hoffman  
Washington Post Service

MOSCOW — The Russian financier Boris Berezovsky returned to Moscow on Sunday to face questioning about money laundering and corruption allegations, saying the charges against him were "absolute lies."

Mr. Berezovsky, an often outspoken member of the informal club of seven financiers who helped re-elect President Boris Yeltsin in 1996, arrived at Sheremetevsky airport outside Moscow on a chartered flight from Nice. He is expected to meet with prosecutors Monday.

"I've never violated a law, and I've returned to Moscow completely calm," he told reporters. "I flew back to Russia without any doubts and I am convinced that I am not guilty before Russian law."

He said he was prepared to respect Russian law "but not lawlessness." The tycoon, a one-time mathematician who earned his early wealth as an auto dealer and middleman, has sharply criticized the government of Prime Minister Yevgeni Primakov. Mr. Primakov had vowed to put some of Russia's so-called oligarchs in jail but has denied that he was behind the arrest warrants for Mr. Berezovsky and another banker, Alex-

ander Smolensky.

Mr. Primakov is trying to politicize the case, Mr. Berezovsky said, but he added that "Primakov is not so petty as to avenge himself on me."

Mr. Berezovsky's case has been caught up in a related scandal surrounding Russia's chief prosecutor, Yuri Skuratov, whom Mr. Yeltsin is trying to fire. Faced with demands for his ouster, Mr. Skuratov, who carried out few prosecutions of high-level wrongdoing in earlier years, has been increasingly bold in accusing the Russian elite of corruption. Parliament has balked at Mr. Yeltsin's demands that Mr. Skuratov be fired.

The prosecutor at first issued arrest warrants for Mr. Berezovsky and Mr. Smolensky, both of whom were overseas. But, then the warrant for Mr. Berezovsky was dropped last week, and he said he would come back to Russia to answer questions. Mr. Smolensky is reportedly still in Austria.

Many friends and foes described the arrest warrants as an obvious political gambit by Mr. Skuratov to hold on to his post. Mr. Skuratov's supporters include Communists who have long blamed the Russian tycoons for Russia's economic troubles.



A woman getting her finger stained with ink, an election-monitoring procedure, at a polling site in Ankara as elections got under way Sunday.

### TURKEY: Ecevit Takes Lead in Voting

Continued from Page 1

ister Mesut Yilmaz, a center-rightist. That coalition may now be possible, although a third party may be necessary to give it enough votes to win a vote of confidence in Parliament.

The elections Sunday were held more than a year ahead of schedule. Turkey has been without a stable government since its last election in 1995.

The religious-oriented Welfare Party, which has since been banned and replaced by Virtue, finished first in the 1995 voting. Its leader, Necmettin Erbakan, formed a coalition government that appeared sympathetic to Islamic fundamentalism and to militant regimes such as those in Iran and Libya.

The fiercely secular military strongly disapproved of Mr. Erbakan's government and brought it under such intense pressure that it collapsed after one year. The secular government that succeeded it, headed by Mr. Yilmaz, failed to consolidate itself and collapsed last November. Mr. Ecevit was named as a caretaker prime minister to take the country to elections.

Soon after Mr. Ecevit took office, Turkish commandos captured the country's most wanted fugitive, the Kurdish guerrilla leader Abdullah Ocalan. His capture gave Mr. Ecevit an enormous boost, and suddenly he emerged as a figure who might stabilize the country's turbulent political scene.

Few Turks, however, expected the election Sunday to lift the political paralysis into which their country has fallen. One Istanbul newspaper captured the public mood with a front-page headline that asked: "Why Are We Holding These Elections?"

Foreign Minister Ismail Cem pledged that if re-elected to Parliament, he and his mentor, Mr. Ecevit, would work together for more jobs, better education and health care for all. But even if Mr.

Ecevit's party finishes first, it was almost certain to take less than 25 percent of the vote, which would force it to assemble a coalition with other parties.

The next government, then, whether or not Mr. Ecevit heads it, will probably have no ideological cohesion and will find it difficult or impossible to come up with strong measures to confront Turkey's central problems, particularly the Kurdish insurrection in the east. Most voters are acutely aware of those frustrations.

The campaign was distinguished by its silence on pressing issues. There was little debate about ways to expand democracy and increase respect for human rights and even less about how religious and secular impulses in Turkish society could be harmonized. Most remarkably, the Kurdish separatist insurgency that has been tearing at the national fabric for a decade and a half was barely mentioned.

"If a problem has dragged on for 15 years in a country," the commentator Mumtaz Soysal wrote in a newspaper column, "if that country has lost more than 30,000 lives and seen tens of thousands wounded due to that problem, if hundreds of thousands of people have been forced to migrate from the eastern part of the country to the west, leaving behind deserted towns and villages and settling in overcrowded cities, if people are still carrying out suicide attacks and trying to kill public officials, one would expect this problem to be a main topic in an election campaign."

"Is it not utterly incomprehensible," he added, "that a country can go to elections without addressing its most urgent problem?"

Military commanders ruled out any discussion of new approaches to the Kurdish issue, and the mere suggestion that they reconsider their rejection of Kurdish nationalism can bring a prison sentence. Urging a greater role for religion in public life is also taboo.

## Officials Doubt Racism Led to London Explosion

### At Least 39 in Brixton Are Injured by Nail Bomb

Coupled by Our Staff From Dispatches

LONDON — Authorities were still without definite leads Sunday as to who planted a nail bomb on a busy shopping street in south London, but they tried to quell growing speculation that the attack had a racial motive.

The police said 39 people were treated at hospitals and 21 were kept overnight, four of them in serious condition, after the device went off late Saturday afternoon in Brixton, an area with a large black population. Many of the injured suffered shrapnel-type wounds.

There was no warning, no claim of responsibility and none of the hallmark of Irish Republican Army guerrillas actions, leading some rights activists and local residents to speculate that the bombing might have been racially motivated.

"It's too early to have a definite lead," she said. "I think we can rule out because of the intelligence, because of the way the police operate and the way forensic people operate, that it was linked to Irish terrorism."

Handfuls of Brixton residents stood staring quietly at the scene Sunday. "It's incredible," said one resident, James Murphy. "Why do earth would anyone want to blow up a fruit and veg market, in Brixton of all places? And when you think of all the kids and old people that were there, it's wicked."

Among the injured were an infant who had to have a nail removed from his skull, two people with serious eye injuries and a police officer who had gone to the scene after a suspicious bag was reported.

Lee Jasper, a black rights activist who was in Brixton on Saturday, said the blast could have been aimed at the area's mainly Afro-Caribbean community, and some of the victims who spoke to reporters also said they suspected racism.

"Brixton is the symbolic black capital of the U.K.," said Mr. Jasper, who is secretary of the National Assembly Against Racism. "I don't rule out a racial motive."

Witnesses spoke of an eerie moment of silence just after the blast, followed by screaming as hundreds of people stampeded away from the area. "I felt my stomach, and it was hurting," Ijeoma Nwokolo said from her hospital bed.

"And my leg was hurting, and there was a nail that was in my knee as well. So I took that out, and I carried on running."

Race riots ravaged Brixton in the mid-1980s and were blamed on heavy-handed policing.

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## Italians Vote on Blunting Influence of Small Parties

The Associated Press

ROME — Italians voted in a referendum Sunday intended to dump an electoral system blamed for the country's revolving door governments.

The big question, however, was whether enough voters — 50 percent plus one of the 49.3 million eligible — would go to the polls for the referendum to be valid.

The referendum proposed abolishing the proportional representation system used to allocate 25 percent of the seats in the lower house of Parliament. The system allows even tiny parties to wield enough power to bring down a shaky coalition or stall legislation.

Shortly after the closing of polls at 10 P.M., RAI state television broadcast results of a telephone survey, by the Abacus pollster company, of Italians who indicated that they had voted. Of those who voted, the pollsters estimated, 87 to 91 percent voted "yes."

But unless more than 50 percent of those eligible voted, the referendum would not count. Official results were expected Monday.

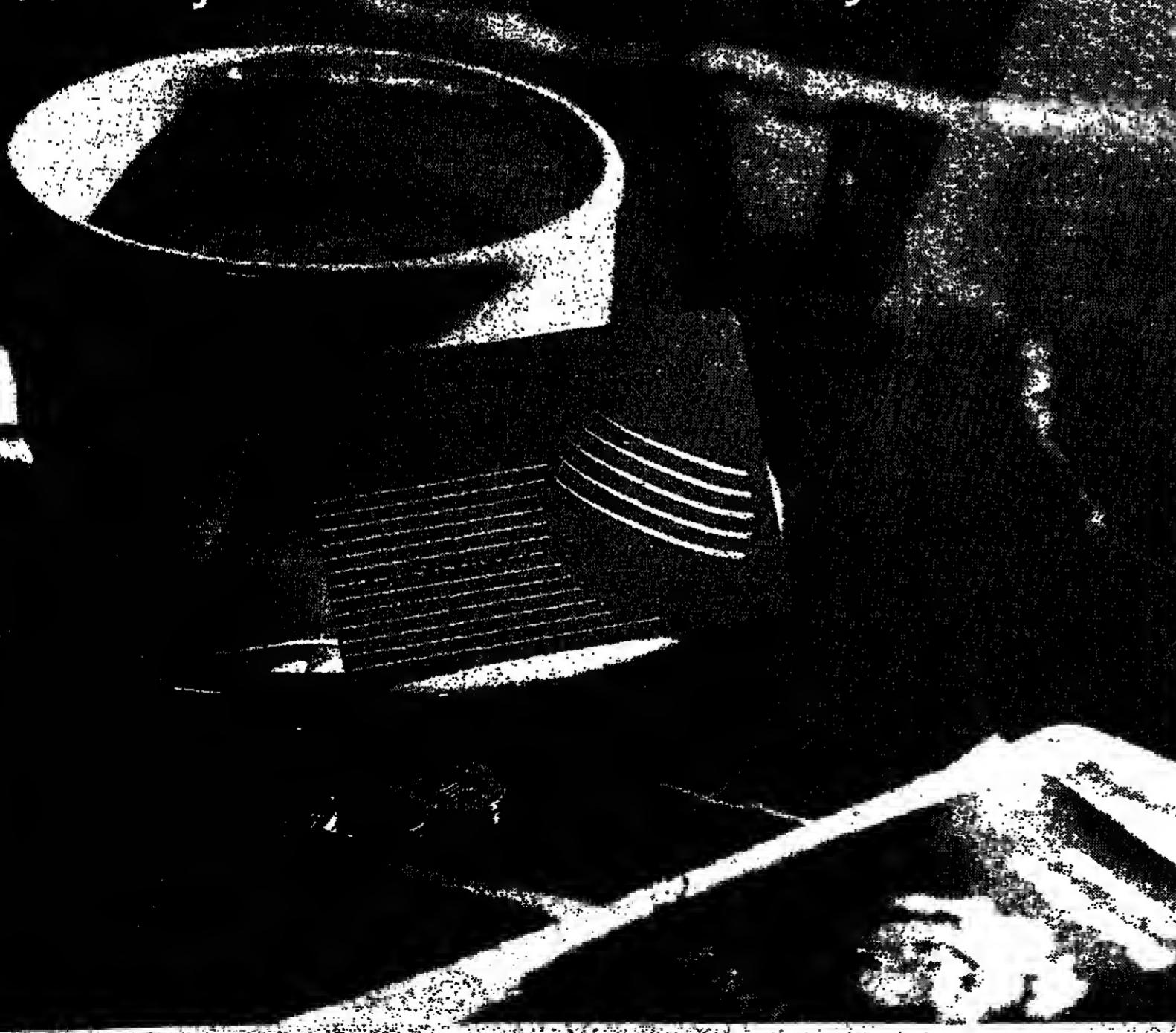
Most parties in Prime Minister Massimo D'Alema's coalition and much of the opposition called for a "yes" vote in the referendum on electoral reforms. Some small parties, which stood to lose the most, were opposed.

If the referendum passes, Parliament will have to abolish proportional representation formally. Heated debates over what the new electoral system should look like are under way.

Many leading politicians say a revamped electoral system might bring Italy in line with other European countries, which generally have fewer parties and a clear majority and opposition.

Rainy weather in much of the country was expected to have increased the turnout, discouraging people from taking weekend trips and ignoring the vote.

Journeys end, but miles follow you home



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## THE AMERICAS

**In Time of Turmoil, Will House Speaker Find His Voice?**

Ron Edmonds/The Associated Press  
Dennis Hastert, House speaker, is a consensus-builder with a quiet demeanor.

By Guy Gugliotta and Juliet Eilperin  
*Washington Post Service*

**WASHINGTON** — Secretary of State Madeleine Albright and the national security adviser, Samuel (Sandy) Berger, did not want the new House speaker, J. Dennis Hastert, to allow a vote on Kosovo. They were meeting with him privately to tell him so.

They were pushing hard, sources close to the speaker said. If a resolution failed to pass, Mrs. Albright said, Mr. Hastert would have "blood on his hands," because the Serbs would be emboldened in their worst, with potentially catastrophic consequences for Kosovo's ethnic Albanians.

Mr. Hastert's lieutenants were waiting in his outer office, the sources said, and Mr. Hastert, Republican of Illinois, spoke carefully.

"I understand what you are saying," he replied, according to one source. "But I'm not going to make this decision myself. I believe all the members of the House should make this decision."

The meeting was the first foreign policy showdown of Mr. Hastert's speakership, and he handled it with what colleagues have come to regard as the Hastert style. He listened, he made few comments, and he insisted that the House make its opinion known without the ideological assist that members had come to expect from his predecessor, Newt Gingrich, Republican of Georgia.

On March 12, to the relief of the Clinton administration, the House voted, 219 to 21, to authorize peacekeepers in Kosovo. The next test could come this week, when Congress — begins considering an expected administration request for at least \$6 billion to fund the next phase of the Balkans intervention.

It is not clear whether Mr. Hastert's non-committal approach will wear well over the long haul. While many members may give Mr. Hastert high marks for insisting that the House be involved in the debate, his reticence has made him appear unflatteringly wooden or even bewildered when more volatile colleagues, such as the Senate majority leader, Trent Lott, Republican of Mississippi, hold forth after White House briefings.

"So far, he's played the strong, silent type," said Marshall Wittman, congressional relations director for the conservative Heritage Foundation. "But he's going to have to find a voice."

Yes, he has to take into consideration the feelings of his caucus," Mr. Wittman added, "but he also has to be very conscious about how his actions are perceived by the rest of the world. He is the third-ranking elected official in the United States."

Until a series of Republican leadership disasters thrust him into the spotlight this year, Mr. Hastert, 57, a former high school teacher and wrestling coach, was best known for his expertise on health care, his gentle demeanor and his rule as chief deputy to the House majority whip, Tom DeLay of Texas.

Colleagues say Mr. Hastert draws inspiration from his early mentor, Robert Michel, Republican of Illinois, a former House minority leader who was a moderate and popular consensus-builder. Mr. Michel's gentility served him well for decades when Republicans were not in control of the House, and this approach may be a welcome template for Mr. Hastert, whose diminished majority often demands that sweet reason take precedence over brute force.

Mr. Hastert declined to be interviewed for this article, but colleagues and staff describe him as strongly pro-trade, not particularly fond of foreign aid, keenly aware of U.S. responsibilities as a world leader, but not eager for America to be involved in every global hot spot. His record on national security through most of the 1990s shows a combination of general reluctance to entertain international entanglements and basic congressional foreign policy cussedness — in favor of a president from his own party, opposed to a president from the opposing party.

In written remarks, he has argued that Americans have "a compelling interest to use our armed forces only when our national security is threatened." His views suggest he saw such a threat in the Gulf War during the administration of President George Bush, but not in Haiti during the administration of President Bill Clinton.

Mr. Hastert, an early opponent of U.S. involvement in Bosnia, has written that at first he did not believe the situation was serious enough to warrant the introduction of U.S. troops in a peacekeeping force. But in 1996, Mr. Hastert wrote, he met Slobodan Milosevic, then the president of Serbia, and "changed my view." Mr. Milosevic is a "destabilizing force in Europe, who is bent on using extreme nationalism to achieve his goals," he wrote. "This argues for a more forceful American role."

And although he voted for the Kosovo resolution on March 12, he has never articulated his own views so starkly for his colleagues. Only on March 30, in an address before the Lithuanian Parliament in Vilnius, did Mr. Hastert abandon his habitual opacity and speak his mind.

Mr. Milosevic is "evil" and a "great threat" to Europe, he said, adding, "We have a duty to say no to ruthless dictators."

**BRIEFLY**  
**Gore Feels the Fallout in Poll**

**WASHINGTON** — For the first time since the Monica Lewinsky scandal broke, Vice President Al Gore appears to be suffering the political fallout of President Bill Clinton's sins, according to a nonpartisan poll.

The survey by the Pew Research Center found Mr. Gore's popularity declining sharply in part because many Americans have a negative view of Mr. Clinton and they are exhausted by a series of Clinton administration controversies.

In test matchups, Mr. Gore lost to two Republicans: Elizabeth Dole, former president of the American Red Cross, and George Bush, the governor of Texas. But it is the underlying data that are more alarming for the vice president. They show that Mr. Gore is being damaged by Mr. Clinton's actions and that the vice president cannot count on women, the heart of Mr. Clinton's electoral strength, to help carry him to victory in 2000.

According to the Pew Center, 74 percent of respondents, including large majorities of Democrats, said they were "tired of all the problems associated with the Clinton administration" and only 29 percent wished that Mr. Clinton would run for a third term.

Overall, Mr. Gore's favorability rating has dipped to 47 percent from 58 percent last December. The last time Mr. Gore was viewed this negatively was when he was battling charges of fund-raising violations in September 1997. (WP)

**'Protecting' Parents in Workplace**

**WASHINGTON** — The Clinton administration is drafting legislation that would ban workplace discrimination against parents, a proposal that would extend to millions of workers new grounds for suing employers who deny them jobs or promotions because they spend time on family matters.

The initiative, to be introduced in the Senate this month, would treat parents "as a protected class with respect to employment discrimination," according to draft language provided by White House aides. It would, for example, prohibit employers from "taking a mother or father off of a career-advancing path out of a belief that parents cannot meet requirements of these jobs."

If it is enacted by Congress, labor lawyers say, the plan could trigger a raft of new discrimination claims in a federal court system already flooded by lawsuits alleging bias based on gender, race, religion, age or disability. Those categories are already protected under existing laws. (WP)

**Clinton Targets Telephone Fraud**

**WASHINGTON** — President Bill Clinton has appealed to Congress to enact legislation to stop telemarketers from preying on the elderly, declaring that fraudulent business deals offered by telephone pose "the greatest threat that many older Americans face."

In his weekly radio address Saturday, the president said that Americans lose an estimated \$40 billion a year to telephone schemes and that more than half the victims are older than 50.

"That's like a fraud tax aimed directly at senior citizens," Mr. Clinton said.

He said he would propose legislation next month that would give the Justice Department authority to terminate telephone service if federal agents found evidence of an illegal telemarketing scheme or learned of plans to start one. (WP)

**Hope Trumps Reality in Budget Process**

By Tim Weiner  
*New York Times Service*

**WASHINGTON** — Congress tells itself year after year to craft a budget carefully and stick to it when spending the tax money Americans send in. Last year it failed miserably, but this year could be worse, many members say.

No one wants a repeat of the fiasco in October — a last-minute bill, 4,000 pages long, lashed together in secret, larded with \$21 billion of extra "emergency" money and approved without anyone actually having read more than a handful of pages.

But no one knows precisely how to avoid it.

"They know there's a disaster coming," a senior House Republican staff member said. "They just want it to be magically solved."

David Obey of Wisconsin, the ranking Democrat on the House Appropriations Committee, put it plainly: "We are in never-never land."

This is the lay of that land: The Republican Congress, meeting its deadline for the second time in a quarter-century, gave final approval to a \$1.75 trillion budget plan Thursday. (Think of a dollar as a second. One million seconds is less than 12 days; 1.75 million seconds is about 57,000 years.)

Most of the \$1.75 trillion goes to mandatory programs like Medicare, Social Security and interest on the debt. That leaves about \$537 billion. The Pentagon will take more than half of that.

What remains is roughly \$246 billion in the Republican budget plan to run the government — about \$37 billion less

than this year. Expressed as a percentage of the U.S. economy, this spending is at its lowest in 37 years. It works out to about \$250 a day for every American.

This frugality, embodied in spending caps, was enacted into law in the landmark balanced-budget agreement reached between President Bill Clinton and Republicans in 1997.

"We intend to stay within the caps," J. Dennis Hastert of Illinois, the House speaker, said. "That was a promise we made in the American people."

The president and his party also pledged to keep the caps.

That promise will be hard to keep. There has been a good deal of dissembling about this. Mr. Obey said he had seen fellow members of Congress "tell the president the caps should be raised, and then go out of the White House, look at the corner and say the caps have to be kept."

The caps require cuts in spending, and thus a consensus on what to cut. None exists now. No consensus, no spending bill; no bill, no way out of another ugly debacle, some members say.

If such a spectacle occurs again, it could cost Republicans control of the House next year, said Representative Sonny Callahan, Republican of Alabama, who heads the Appropriations subcommittee for foreign operations.

Mr. Callahan, a conservative, said the greatest challenge to consensus comes from the right. "Some of our own people, who dislike 1 percent of the bill, will vote against it all," on principle, he said. "If we have members of our own party who are willing to stop the machine for some minor issue, the Democrats will win."

**LANGUAGE****The Greatest Words, Through the Millennia**

By William Safire  
*New York Times Service*

**WASHINGTON** — The greatest speech of the minus-first millennium was the Lord's voice from the whirlwind in the Book of Job, the most extended direct quotation of God in the Bible. The poet-rabbi who wrote it used vivid word-pictures to mock the challenge to his fairness by the unjustly afflicted Job. In a savagely sarcastic rhetorical interrogation, he demanded, "Where were you when I laid the foundation of the earth . . . while the morning stars sang together, and all the gods exulted?"

The first millennium began with its best speech: in the Sermon on the Mount, as reported by St. Matthew, Jesus began with the Beatitudes, a series of attention-grabbing blessings, and opened a world of metaphor for speakers to come, like "Ye are the salt of the earth . . . the light of the world. A city that is set on a hill cannot be hid."

The second millennium boasts a stirring address by Ireland's Robert Emmet on the gallows. ("Let no man write my epitaph.") The American patriotic rouser rivaling Patrick Henry's "Give me liberty or give me death!" was the grandiloquent and yet eloquent Fourth of July speech that Representative Daniel Webster suggested might have been given by John Adams: "Sink or swim, live or die, survive or perish, I give my hand and my heart to this vote."

Toward the millennium's end, Winston Churchill told an embattled House of Commons, "I have nothing to offer but blood, toil, tears and sweat." FDR and JFK knew how to provide oratorical uplift, as did the Reverend Martin Luther King Jr., with, "I have a dream." The best closing line was from Anatoli Shecharansky, who, after addressing his dissidence to the courtroom and beyond, turned to the rubber-stamp Soviet judges with, "To you I have nothing to say."

But the best modern speech in English was more of a poem. Those who recite Lincoln's brief Gettysburg Ad-

dress seldom grasp its conception-birth-death-resurrection theme. A nation "conceived in liberty," "brought forth" or born, with all men "created equal." Then this birth is followed by images of death: "final resting place . . . honored dead," and verbs of religious purification like "consecrate . . . hallow."

Finally, "a new birth of freedom" in a nation that will "not perish" but be immortal. This elaborate construction by a president steeped in the biblical idiom — but, like Jefferson, not known for his religiosity — was not dashed off on the back of an envelope.

Those are all "great" speeches on momentous occasions. But there were some shorter remarks made by lesser-known figures that sparkle in the sands of our time. Sojourner Truth, the evangelist, with her fierce "Ain't I a woman?" pioneered feminism, and Chief Joseph, known to the Nez Perce as Thunder Traveling to the Loft Mountain Heights, ennobled surrender: "Hear me, my chiefs! I am tired: My heart is sick and sad. From the sun now stands I will fight no more forever."

Here is the full text of a sentimental little speech that is the best I can find of its kind. George Graham Vest, from the monomeric home of Sweet Springs in Saline County, Missouri, was a member of the Confederate Congress during the Civil War; from 1879 to 1903 the skilled debater served as a senator from Missouri. He is remembered, however, for a speech he made as a young lawyer and repeated hundreds of times throughout his life.

Vest was representing a plaintiff who sued a neighbor for the killing of his dog. He ignored his client's charges and the defendant's testimony; instead, he won the case with a summation on the theme of fidelity. Swallow hard and read it aloud, standing up, to your family: there won't be a dry eye in the house.

A cooler Third Millennium may dismiss Vest's "Tribute to the Dog" as a tearjerker, but we rhetoricians of the Second are prepared to lick the orator's hand:

When all other friends desert, he remains. When riches take wings, and reputation falls to pieces, he is as constant in his love as the sun in its journey through the heavens.

If fortune drives the master forth an

outcast in the world, friendless and in sickness. He will sleep oo the cold ground, where the wintry winds blow and the snow drives fiercely, if only he may be near his master's side. He will kiss the hand that has no food to offer, he will lick the wounds and sores that come in an encounter with the roughness of the world. He guards the sleep of his pauper master as if he were a prince.

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## ASIA/PACIFIC

# Militia Killings Threaten Timor Autonomy Talks

Plebiscite Seen In Jeopardy After Rampage

By Michael Richardson  
International Herald Tribune

SINGAPORE — A bloody weekend rampage by militiamen who want East Timor to remain part of Indonesia threatens to undermine talks this week on the future of the territory and raises new doubt about whether the Indonesian government can control the military, foreign officials say.

Militia groups loyal to Indonesia stormed through Dili, the capital of East Timor, on Saturday. Indonesian military officials said the attacks on houses and offices of pro-independence leaders had left at least a dozen people dead and many more wounded.

The killings prompted renewed calls from the United Nations, Portugal and Australia for the Indonesian authorities to disband the militia and restore order.

Prime Minister John Howard of Australia said Sunday that he would contact President B.J. Habibie of Indonesia to express Australia's "deep concern" over the killings in Dili and the "growing evidence" that Indonesian security forces had failed to prevent repeated attacks by pro-Jakarta militia groups on supporters of independence.

"You would have to wonder whether these pro-integration militiamen are not getting some kind of permissive response from the Indonesian Army," Mr. Howard said on Australian television. "I am very concerned at the way in which the situation has deteriorated, and the Indonesian government cannot escape responsibility for at least some of that, if not all of it."

Mr. Howard said that the increased violence in East Timor was threatening a UN-organized plebiscite scheduled for July to enable people in the territory to choose between autonomy within Indonesia or independence.

Mr. Habibie reversed in January a policy of long-standing Indonesian opposition to independence when he offered the possibility of autonomy.

The foreign ministers of Indonesia and Portugal are to meet Thursday and Friday in New York under the auspices of the United Nations to finalize details of the Indonesian autonomy offer and how it is to be put to the people of East Timor.

Indonesia invaded East Timor in 1975 and annexed it in 1976. The United Nations has never recognized the takeover of the former Portuguese colony.

Indonesian news organizations, quoting local police and military officials, reported that more than 20 people, including the teenage son of a prominent independence leader, Manuel Caras-

calao, had been killed in Dili over the weekend. The violence occurred after more than 1,000 East Timorese militiamen armed with guns and machetes rallied Saturday in front of the office of the Indonesian-appointed governor.

A militia commander, Emico Guterres, told his followers to clear the territory of groups supporting independence, journalists present at the rally said.

"Starting today, I command all pro-integration militias to conduct a cleansing of all those who betrayed integration," the commander said.

The mob also beat several foreign journalists and ransacked the office of a local newspaper, as well as other buildings and vehicles.

Police officers and soldiers appeared to make no effort to stop the violence, Reuters reported from Dili.

An aide to the spiritual leader of East Timor, Bishop Carlos Belo, said that the situation in Dili remained tense.

The Australian foreign minister, Alexander Downer, said it was "imperative" that Indonesian armed forces "begin the process of disarming the militias and that those responsible for the violence and killings be brought to account."

The Portuguese leader, Antonio Guterres, said in Lisbon that the latest killings underlined the need for a UN presence in East Timor to help halt the violence. The UN secretary-general, Kofi Annan, said in New York that he regretted "this apparent inability of the Indonesian authorities to control the violence by militias and to protect the civilian population." Mr. Annan called for an immediate end to the escalation of violence "by all sides" in East Timor.

But the differences between Mr. Habibie's government and the security forces were underlined Sunday when civilian and military officials issued conflicting accounts of the Dili rampage.

A senior foreign policy adviser to Mr. Habibie said that Indonesia must accept the blame for the violence. "It's our responsibility because we are the only ones here," the adviser, Dwi Fortuna Arwir, told Reuters in Jakarta. "We condemn the act of violence," she said.

By contrast, the military put the blame on pro-independence groups.

There is increasing international concern that the Indonesian military regards the independence offer by the Habibie government as a serious threat to national unity and the honor of the armed forces, which analysts say has suffered thousands of casualties in fighting with pro-independence guerrillas in East Timor since 1975.

## New Signs of Blast In Korean Air Crash

SEOUL — Korean Air said Sunday it had found more evidence to back its theory that a midair explosion caused one of its cargo planes to crash in Shanghai last week.

It made the comment as Chinese police were reported to have found the "black box," or flight-data recorder, of the McDonnell Douglas MD-11 plane. The airline, however, contradicted that report, saying the recorder had not been found.

"Records at the flight tower showed there were no emergency messages or problem reports in communications between the pilot and the tower, suggesting sudden death," an airline spokesman said.

He said the gauge of an altimeter recovered at the crash site indicated a height of 900 meters (3,000 feet), suggesting it had been jammed as if by an explosion. (Reuters)



PROTESTING SHORTAGES — Militants running away after throwing a bomb at police during a strike in Dhaka, Bangladesh, on Sunday.

## Clinton Keeps Aliens From Going to Guam

HONOLULU — President Bill Clinton has given Attorney General Janet Reno authority to maintain custody of illegal aliens found in boats off the Northern Mariana Islands, easing worries in Guam that they would seek asylum there.

Several hundred illegal aliens from China have been apprehended in recent months in waters off Guam.

The president's directive Saturday would allow captured aliens to be held in the Northern Marianas, which is outside the U.S. immigration area, so asylum would not be available to them, said Leland Betis, an aide to Governor Carl Gutierrez of Guam. Mr. Gutierrez had sent the president a letter Tuesday, outlining "a crisis triggered by an escalating mass influx of aliens from the People's Republic of China." (AP)

## Protests in Malaysia

KUALA LUMPUR — Authorities have arrested 94 anti-government protesters in violent clashes with the police, news reports said Sunday.

Protests against the government of Prime Minister Mahathir bin Mohamad have rocked Kuala Lumpur since a judge sentenced the former deputy prime minister, Anwar Ibrahim, on Wednesday to six years in prison.

Nearly 1,000 demonstrators marched through the center of the capital Saturday, hurling rocks and taunting police as officers surged toward them swinging wooden batons and firing water cannons and tear gas. Chanting anti-government slogans, the protesters also faced off against riot police at an upscale shopping district and various mosques.

On Sunday, the capital was calm but tense as the police patrolled key locations in the center. (AP)

## For the Record

Opposition activists enforcing a general strike clashed with the police Sunday in Dhaka, the capital of Bangladesh, leaving at least 20 people injured, witnesses and doctors said. The daylong street protests across the impoverished country were called by four main opposition parties to demand the resignation of Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina Wazed. (AP)

Queen Elizabeth II was scheduled to arrive in Seoul on Monday for a four-day visit aimed at improving business relations between Britain and South Korea. (AFP)

## INDIA: After Government Falls, Former Opposition Seeks Coalition

Continued from Page 1

E. Sridharan, a political scientist who works for the University of Pennsylvania's Institute for the Advanced Study of India in New Delhi. "I don't think they're keen to form a government. This is not their script."

However, it is to head a new coalition, it has little choice but to turn to Miss Jayaram, as she is known, who was the most troublesome of Mr. Vajpayee's

coalition partners. Ostensibly, she quit the government over issues of national security, but BJP officials said she was angry because Mr. Vajpayee refused to dismiss the state government of Tamil Nadu, which is aggressively pursuing corruption charges against her.

The problem for Congress is this: Leaders of a rival party from her state, the Tamil Maanila Congress, which has three votes in Parliament, say they will have no part of a coalition that includes

Miss Jayaram, whom they say is profoundly corrupt.

Even if Congress manages to form a government with Miss Jayaram in it, it would then be dependent on this exegit, headline-grabbing politician who could well quit again in a huff if she did not get what she wanted.

Several leading newspapers said in editorials Sunday that elections offered the best hope for a more stable government.

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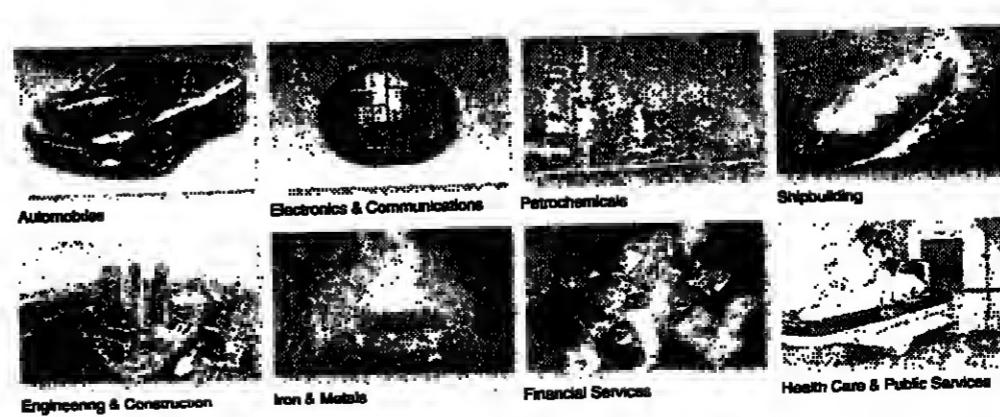
\* Chung's cattle diplomacy may someday rank with U.S. Chinese Ping-Pong diplomacy as a major diplomatic milestone. (Newspack, November 9)  
\* The high-profile cattle drive marked a milestone in the bitter history of relations between the two Koreas. (Time, June 29)  
\* ...the first children since World War II to make it crossing without a generation excess. (The Washington Post, June 17)  
\* ...we will have the breeding ground for reproduction and peace between North and South Korea. (Sokchochae Daehang, June 17)  
\* Mr. Chung's poverty is not a sentimental one. He's trying to reverse several disastrous impacts in the North... (Financial Times, June 13)

Imagine crossing a border that's been closed for 48 years. Then imagine doing it with 1,001 head of cattle.

Achieving the "impossible" is nothing new for Chung Ju-yung, the 83-year-old founder and Honorary Chairman of Korea's Hyundai Business Group.

This is the same man who literally brought the sea to its knees, reclaiming land on Korea's west coast with a large tanker destined for scrap. And the one who ingeniously used a small fleet of barges to transport prefabricated components nearly halfway around the world 19 times to build Jubail Harbor in Saudi Arabia, one of the construction wonders of the 20th century. In these and countless other projects over the past half-century, Chung found a way where others said it couldn't be done.

As Hyundai looks toward the future, we share Chung's spirit - an unwavering drive and ambition that has made us what we are today. And what will propel us into the ranks of the world's industrial leaders in the new millennium.



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## The Battle for Kosovo/Rising Speculation About Ground Troops

## West Asserts Bombing Will Be Enough to Drive Milosevic Out of Kosovo

By Brian Knowlton  
*International Herald Tribune*

**WASHINGTON** — Representatives of the nations that make up NATO contended Sunday that the air campaign against Yugoslavia was taking a heavy toll and making steady progress toward its goals, and they repeated that there were still no plans to use ground troops to force Belgrade's military out of Kosovo.

The U.S. secretary of state, Madeleine Albright, asked about British press reports that U.S. troops were already being trained for use in Yugoslavia, issued a qualified denial. "There is training going on all the time around the United States" for various contingencies, she said. When pressed by a reporter for ABC News, she added: "I have been told that there is no training specifically going on for this kind of operation."

And on an NBC News program, her deputy, Strobe Talbot, denied an assertion by Russian officials that NATO was making plans to call up ground troops.

Alliance leaders, however, hinted that there were differences of emphasis in European cap-

itals. Prime Minister Tony Blair of Britain pointedly told a reporter for CBS News that "we keep every single option under review," leaving the door open should NATO change course amid the mounting humanitarian costs of Serbian actions in Kosovo and Belgrade's continued defiance.

Showing no flexibility on the matter, however, Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder of Germany said flatly that there was "no reason whatsoever" to alter the NATO strategy of relying solely on air attacks. Force President Slobodan Milosevic to accept the alliance's demands that he withdraw his forces from the Yugoslav province and allow the return of hundreds of thousands of refugees.

"That ground-troops debate," Mr. Schroeder said in Hanover, in an interview with CNN, "is an artificial debate." He said he saw no sign of a shift by any alliance members. "There is no reason whatsoever" to abandon the air-based strategy, Mr. Schroeder added. "It is going to succeed."

Mr. Blair hinted at NATO's desire to be rid of Mr. Milosevic, never a stated aim of the alliance. "For people in Kosovo to return to their homes and be expected to live in any sense under the rule of Milosevic is now extremely difficult to con-

tinue," he said. "In the longer term, we have to see how we can ensure that this man Milosevic is not allowed to terrorize this region any more."

Those interviewed insisted that the bombing was working. "He is systematically being weakened," Mrs. Albright said. "Greater damage is being done to the things that really matter to Milosevic, to the things he really holds dear."

Mrs. Albright said Yugoslavia, in addition to witnessing the destruction of its military machine, was progressively being deprived of its energy supplies. Its oil refineries have been destroyed, she said. Croatia has turned off an oil pipeline into Serbia and NATO was studying ways to limit oil shipments by sea.

Mr. Talbot, meanwhile, challenged press reports that bad weather and a wariness to unleash an all-out assault on Serbia had allowed its military to ride on the attacks. "If you look at how much less in the way of armed might Milosevic has today than he had 26 days ago," he said on NBC, "that tells it all, because this is a leader who depends on brute force, and the instruments of brute force are being taken away from him."

Mr. Schroeder called for the air attacks to be

"sharpened," while Mr. Blair said the bombing should be "intensified." NATO began the campaign with about 400 planes at its disposal; it now has more than 1,000.

The qualified responses from alliance officials about the use of ground troops have stoked speculation that the alliance is quietly moving in that direction.

The NATO secretary-general, Javier Solana Madariaga, hedged his responses when a reporter for Fox-TV asked him Sunday about a land assault of Yugoslavia. "At this point the alliance has no plans to go into an invasion," he said. He added, "At this point, yes, the strategy that we're going to maintain is an air campaign to the end."

Mr. Blair and Mr. Schroeder both said they would welcome a Russian role in seeking a peaceful solution to the crisis, but only if it did not dilute NATO's stated aims: that Yugoslav forces withdraw from Kosovo and allow refugees to return under the protection of an international force. "If the Russians or anyone else can make Milosevic come in line with NATO's demands, fine," Mr. Blair said.

Mr. Schroeder said that Germany, which sug-

gested last week that NATO would agree to a truce if Belgrade began withdrawing its forces, had no intention of weakening the alliance's solidarity. "The West," he added, "has got to stick to its position and pursue its position."

The assertions of unity came as NATO prepared to meet in Washington to mark the alliance's 50th anniversary. A leading Republican senator, Richard Lugar of Indiana, warned that misjudgments and miscalculations were putting "NATO at stake." Information from Yugoslavia, said Mr. Lugar, indicated that "things are going even more poorly than one would have predicted. Many are predicting that this will be the funeral of NATO, not the celebration."

Mr. Lugar urged that NATO at least begin a conspicuous effort to amass a major ground force. "I would do this very obviously, so that Milosevic, the rest of the world, understands that we are pulling together this ground force."

NATO's spokesman in Brussels shrugged off that suggestion. Jamie Shea said on CNN that mounting a ground force would take "many weeks if not months," adding: "We simply don't have several weeks or months at our disposal."

## Fear and Rage in a Dark Belgrade

## Civilians in the Yugoslav Capital Try to Endure the NATO Onslaught

By Steven Erlanger  
*New York Times Service*

**KIEV, Serbia** — Sara, nearly 5, gets to watch her beloved "Ninja Turtles" on television, and "Power Rangers" too. But NATO bombs and missiles keep striking targets in Rakovica and Zarkovo, near this southern Belgrade suburb. So she has been sleeping in the basement every night for the last 25 nights of the air war against President Slobodan Milosevic.

She no longer huddles in a corner, hugging herself, when the bombs go off, said her mother, Biljana, talking in her living room, where there are now cracks in the walls from the shaking of the earth.

Biljana and her husband, Mile, 37, described the first night of NATO's bombing in an interview with The New York Times the next day, March 25, her 32d birthday. Despite the air-raid sirens, no one believed that bombs would actually fall, and Sara insisted on watching "Ninja Turtles" until the night sky exploded and she told her mother that she wanted to die.

A month later, Biljana says, family life under the bombs has settled into a wrenching, nerve-wracking routine, where the coming of each day is both a surprise and a new set of anxieties that the adults try to hide from the children.

"I try to make it a game for Sara and Nemanja," Sara's 6-year-old brother, Biljana said. "At night, after dinner, we watch cartoons or read tales, Disney stories, and then when the air raid sirens go off, about 8:30, we go down to the shelter. I have books down there for them, and I sit with them until they fall asleep."

She pulled Sara to her and plastered her cheek with a kiss. "I try to protect them somehow," she said. "But they won't remember too much later, when it's finally over."

The children hear the sirens and see the air-raid warning symbol superimposed on the television screen. "But I don't think they actually know much

about the bombing," Biljana said. "They just know that when they hear the alert, they have to go to the shelter."

The whole family — the two children, Biljana and Mile, and his parents, Aleksandar and Duka — sleeps in the tiny concrete basement, originally built for storage. "It's pretty crowded down there," Mile said. "We all sleep together, like pigs in a sty."

He normally gets up at about 4, and leaves for his job at an electrical-engineering plant at 5:45. If the bombs are nearby, he sleeps just a couple of hours, consumed with anxiety.

"The day is shorter now," Biljana said. "The night is always early, and the morning always seems to come late. You lie there, wondering if you will survive until the morning. She grabbed Sara and hugged her. "It's the end of the 20th century and it's like living in a village," she said. "I can't know what will happen."

Here Mile broke in, angry again. "How many lives must we lose before NATO can declare a victory?" he demanded. "What satisfaction will the Americans get? How many of us must die to keep NATO's reputation?"

Their friends, Aleksandar and Aleksandara, known as Sasa and Saska, stop in. They have two children, Luko, 7, and Damjan, 3. Luke gets silent, his father said, when the bombing begins. "When there are explosions, there is real fear in his eyes. They get oily and big, but he doesn't cry. When there are explosions in the night, I tell him, 'We are shooting at enemy planes.' And he said: 'Or are they shooting at us?'"

Sasa, a sensitive man of 37 who works with computers, said: "I try to explain to him not to hate, not to hate Americans and American things, that American people are not bombing us, but their leaders. He asks, 'Why do people elect these politicians?' And I say, 'I don't have influence on Milosevic, and the same is true of Americans.'"

Sasa, who has marched for democracy here, continued: "We are being screwed from both ends, from Milosevic and from NATO, which is helping Milosevic screw us even more."

He added slowly: "NATO is pushing us under the ice."

Everyone laughed, and then he paused. "I am smoking more, at least when I can find cigarettes," he said. "Actually, it feels like I'm dreaming, that my life is out real."

Biljana said: "It's the lack of a future. You can't plan. You can't know about tomorrow, or next week. How long will it last? How can it end? All you do is think about how to save the children, to spare them."

Biljana also works, now on the af-

ternoon shift. She is at her factory from noon to 8 P.M., while her in-laws and neighbors take care of the children. "The whole day disappears," she said. "I come home and make a quick dinner before the alert, and then get the kids downstairs."

Mile broke in. "I can't see the end. I watch the news, just in look to see if there's a sign that it's ending."

"I'm an optimist," Biljana said. "I hope it will end soon. If I wasn't an optimist I'd go crazy."

Asked what she misses most, Biljana gave an involuntary sob, looking away, wiping at her eyes. "I adore the spring," she said softly. "My parents live nearby, just two bus stops away, and I like walking to visit them, or going to Kosutnjak, a nearby park. 'But I can't now,' she said. "I can't know what will happen."

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He added slowly: "NATO is pushing us under the ice."



Selami Elshani in a hospital in Tirana, Albania, being fed by a nurse Sunday. He told of being shot at and set on fire by Serbian soldiers.

## SURVIVOR: Massacre of 14 Reported

Continued from Page 1

night after the bombs began to fall, and they decided to flee to a nearby riverbank, fearing that any Serbian assault on the village would target them.

When the 10 men reached the river about 10 P.M., they found about 200 other men hiding there as well as dozens of women and children.

By 3:30 A.M., the villagers were surrounded by Yugoslav forces, silhouetted in the distance.

In the morning light, the villagers were ordered to emerge with their hands above their heads. The women were taken to the village mosque, and the men were lined up in six rows on either side of a road running through Velika Krusa. One by one, they were searched and stripped of money, identity papers and car keys.

When the search was over, the 200 men were ordered into an open area beside a farmhouse. They lay on the ground, face down, with their hands behind their heads. Out on the street, the men had been searched by Interior Ministry troops and special police forces, but in the courtyard they were guarded by about 20 Serbian paramilitaries.

For five hours, the paramilitaries moved among the ethnic Albanians, hitting them with wood. Mr. Elshani's right hand was broken. Five or six men were taken away individually, but Mr. Elshani said he never heard gunshots or screaming.

"I don't know what happened to them," he said. "We never saw them again."

After five hours, the men were ordered to stand and were asked who was out from Velika Krusa. Fifteen men, including Mr. Elshani, stepped forward.

They were marched 50 yards to a shed that had housed farm animals but was empty except for straw and muck. They were forced into a corner, where the men begged for their lives.

"We asked them to set us free," said

Mr. Elshani, who was standing at the front of the men. "We said, 'We have done nothing.' I said, 'Mister, is there any possibility to let us go? We are not terrorists.'

"In the end, they said, 'Go ask Bill Clinton,'" Mr. Elshani said. "That's when we knew we would die."

Five men lined up in front of them with Kalashnikov automatic rifles. They fired a couple of rounds and Mr. Elshani fell to the ground. He wasn't hit. He just fell. A burst of gunfire erupted and bodies fell on top of him. Blood from the victims streamed down Mr. Elshani's face. He lay face up, his eyes closed, with one of the victims lying almost completely on top of him. "I felt his blood trickle on my face," he said.

The paramilitaries continued to fire into the corpses and Mr. Elshani was lightly grazed on the shoulder. The Serbs then covered the bodies with straw, soaked it with gasoline and lit it.

"I was mad with fear," said Mr. Elshani. The body on top protected him from the heat became intense. Mr. Elshani didn't know, however, if the Serbs were still around, and if crawling out meant certain death.

"I had to come out of the fire or die burned alive," he said. "It felt like an hour in the flames even though it was a very short time. It was horror for me."

"I pushed the body aside and opened the straw with my hands, and that's when my face and hands were burned."

Mr. Elshani rolled out screaming, oblivious now to his fear of the Serbs. His clothes were on fire. He pulled them off, stripping flesh from his hands. He ran screaming from the room and out into the yard where he found some water.

"That helped me find my senses," he said.

Out on the street, he said, there were about 20 corpses. He recognized two of his cousins and his brother.

"I looked at them carefully," he said. "I saw some people with half of their heads gone away." Mr. Elshani ran to his uncle's house, where he found his father, uncle and two other relatives, all elderly men. They started in flight, and one seemed to recognize him.

"I said, 'It's me, it's me,'" Mr. Elshani said, "and they started to cry." From March 26 to April 1, the men hid Mr. Elshani in the basement, treating his burns with yogurt.

On April 1, an ethnic Albanian came to the house and said everyone was leaving. Mr. Elshani was hidden under blankets on the back of a tractor carrying elderly men. They made it across the border without being searched.

At an Albanian military hospital in Kukes, doctors cleaned Mr. Elshani's hands and face but told him he had to get to Tirana for treatment. Here, Mr. Elshani has had three skin grafts, and two more surgeries are planned.

After nearly a week at the hospital, Mr. Elshani saw his wife Mahije walk through the door. A relative had found her and Mr. Elshani's son at a refugee camp in the southern Albanian city of Fier. The family had fled into the hills for four days March 26 and then joined a convoy of refugees going to Albania.

Two people have not come to see Mr. Elshani are his sons, Leotrim, 8, and Nderim, 4, who are being sheltered by an Albanian family.

"I can't have the kids see me," Mr. Elshani said. "They can't see me."

KOSOVO:  
Mass Graves Cited

Continued from Page 1

its Apache Loophole helicopters at makeshift airstrips in Albania after the first of 24 flew across the Adriatic from Italy. General Wesley Clark, NATO's top commander, has to get final approval from President Bill Clinton before the heavily armored attack craft can be ordered into action as the deadliest tank-busting arm in the U.S. arsenal aimed at driving Serbian forces out of Kosovo.

Serbia broke diplomatic relations with Albania on Sunday, according to an Albanian government statement, with Belgrade reporting Tirana of helping NATO's bombing campaign against Serbian forces.

Keeping alive the prospect that NATO will eventually use ground troops in a final offensive, the British prime minister, Tony Blair, said that allied governments were keeping that option under review while they pursued the air campaign.

In an interview on American television, Mr. Blair said NATO's task was to drive Slobodan Milosevic's forces out and that, "of course, as was said a few days ago, we keep every single option under review."

With some 40,000 Serbian troops and 300 tanks still operating in Kosovo, Britain's air marshal, Sir John Day, said in London that NATO's "campaign has some way to go."

NATO pursued its air war despite bad weather again, striking heavily at refineries and storage facilities in Novi Sad as part of the alliance's strategy of starving Serbian forces of fuel and lubricants. Six missiles apparently hit the installation, illuminating the night sky in what Serbian television described as the strongest single air strike so far. Serbian media said that a nitrogen fertilizer plant and oil-storage depot near Belgrade also had been hit.

Brigadier General Giuseppe Marani, a spokesman at NATO headquarters, said other strategic targets also had been hit, including an ammunition plant and apparently an army headquarters near Pristina, the capital of Kosovo, that was said to have been directing the massacres and forced evictions of the majority ethnic Albanians from the province.

But "you don't need a very strong structure in terms of command and control" for ethnic cleansing, General Marani

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## EDITORIALS/OPINION

**Herald Tribune**  
INTERNATIONAL  
PUBLISHED WITH THE NEW YORK TIMES AND THE WASHINGTON POST**War and Analogy**

Every war is conducted in the shadow of its predecessors, and the conflict in Kosovo is no exception. The United States is haunted by memories of World War II and Vietnam as it considers how intensely to prosecute the war in the Balkans.

That is entirely appropriate, for the history of those struggles is relevant to this one. But neither analogy exactly fits Kosovo, and seeing beyond them is essential if the country is to make a searching examination of the proper course to follow in Yugoslavia.

Secretary of State Madeleine Albright and other proponents of American military involvement in Kosovo cast the conflict as a test of American and European willingness to confront aggression and homicidal ethnic hatred before they spread.

They argue that in dealing with Slobodan Milosevic, the West must not repeat the appeasement at Munich in 1938 and other mistakes that initially allowed Hitler to move unimpeded against his neighbors and led him to conclude that Nazi policies would go unopposed. Because of the unimaginable devastation of World War II and the Holocaust, this view has great moral resonance today.

Opponents of American military action in Kosovo fear that, as in Vietnam, the country is being drawn deeply into a conflict where the national interest is unclear or concocted, the sacrifices may be dear and the outcome is uncertain.

They see another protracted, unpopular war that ends with an imperfect settlement that might have been reached before fighting escalated. The echoes of Vietnam are understandable — and properly — strong in a White House and Pentagon populated with men and women who saw the lives of their peers wasted by Lyndon Baines Johnson.

For every American generation of this century, the power of war analogies has been undeniable, and they have framed debate about every recent American military venture abroad.

George Bush, who was probably the last of the World War II veterans to occupy the White House, took America to war in the Gulf not only to protect the flow of oil, but also to defeat Saddam Hussein, a tyrant whom he equated with Hitler. Ronald Reagan maintained that his invasion of Grenada broke the paralyzing spell of Vietnam.

In fact, both analogies contain enduring truths. World War II did show that maniacal dictators are best crushed early. Vietnam taught us that it can be a criminal act to send troops into combat without the support of the American people and Congress.

—THE NEW YORK TIMES

**Campaign Reform**

Sponsors of the discharge petition to force a U.S. House of Representatives vote on campaign finance reform quickly collected 189 of the 218 signatures they need last week. The signers include 188 Democrats and the lone House independent, Bernard Sanders. Some additional Democratic signatures probably can be had. But without some Republican names, the reform petition will fail.

There are 31 Republicans who are cosponsors this year, or were last, of the legislation the petition would release. Twelve signed last year's petition. They hold back this year out of deference to the new House speaker, Dennis Hastert, who has said he wants to postpone consideration of campaign finance until the House completes its work on tax cuts, appropriations, Social Security, Medicare, etc.

But everyone, including Mr. Hastert, understands what such postponement likely means. Campaign finance reform is an uphill fight in the best of circumstances. The longer the House waits to pass the bill, the easier it will be for opponents to stall and kill it in the Senate, as the Republican leadership twice did last year. By their deference to the speaker, the House Republicans who profess support for the bill are adding to the likelihood of its defeat instead. They have to choose; this is not a responsibility that a vote in favor, cast too late, will allow them to evade.

The current system of campaign finance is corrupting. Office is bought,

—THE WASHINGTON POST

**Blair on NATO: We Must Defend Human Values**

By Jim Hoagland

LONDON — The war in Kosovo is a turning point for his generation and for the NATO alliance. Prime Minister Tony Blair says with the calm implacability he has used to reshape British politics and institutions in his two years in power. Seated by a window at No. 10 Downing Street, he is mentally measuring Slobodan Milosevic for a political coffin like those into which he has stuffed his foes at home.

President Bill Clinton began to grope toward an answer to these difficult questions last week when he told a gathering of newspaper editors: "At the end of the 20th century, we face a great battle between the forces of integration and the forces of disintegration, the forces of globalism versus tribalism, of oppression against empowerment."

In this new world, the savage assault on Kosovo demands a response, and one that proceeds from a clearer policy than has yet been defined by Mr. Clinton or the foreign-policy leaders in Congress.

Advancing the economic, political and ethnic integration of Europe is hard enough without a bomb-thrower like Mr. Milosevic. His actions present an intertwined humanitarian and diplomatic test to Europe and the United States. By forcing hundreds of thousands of ethnic Albanians to flee, Mr. Milosevic is using refugees to destabilize neighboring areas that he is unwilling to attack with his army. The sudden, explosive movement of peoples across Europe is a new form of aggression.

In the days ahead, Americans must ponder how vital these interests are to the United States. For the time being, NATO air strikes are the right way to attack the Serbian military and may weaken Mr. Milosevic's resistance. But the hour has come for a national conversation about how deeply the country is willing to be engaged in the defense of Kosovo.

Senator John McCain, Republican of Arizona, directly tackling the Vietnam analogy, predicts that a NATO ground force operating with advanced American weapons would quickly overcome Serbian troops. Even if that is not the case, Americans outraged by the Serbian brutality in Kosovo may be willing to risk the casualties that could come with an invasion. To make that judgment, Americans need to learn more about the conflict and its potential consequences.

Mr. Clinton is the only person who can lead a national seminar on Kosovo, and he made a good start last week, speaking in San Francisco, Detroit and Boston. Before long, Congress must commence a full debate.

Though the military obstacles in Kosovo are different from those in Vietnam — the Serbian Army, for example, is clearly not supported by large segments of the population in Kosovo — one lesson of Vietnam should be foremost in Mr. Clinton's thinking. In these excruciating situations, the president has to decide, in his own heart and mind, exactly what he wants and then seek the support of the American people and Congress for his military plan.

—THE NEW YORK TIMES

**Vaclav Havel: A Sense of Solidarity With Kosovo Albanians**

Following are excerpts from an interview with President Vaclav Havel of the Czech Republic that was broadcast on Czech television on April 12:

*On the NATO mission in Kosovo:*

Serbian theater directors who have staged my plays for decades and like me have written this: "What have we done to you for you to bomb us?" I would like to tell them through this channel that they have done nothing to me, of course, but that their regime is slaughtering their fellow citizens, a large group of their fellow citizens, through its military forces. And doing that to the Albanians is the same as doing it to me.

That is the fundamental principle: If anybody is being hurt, I am being hurt.

That is the principle of general human solidarity which crosses the frontiers of states, regions.

*On Slobodan Milosevic:*

I don't know if you watch Serbian TV. That is such unparalleled propaganda that it suppresses the very basics:

front the fact there is an international community, and inevitably there are conflicts that arise. You can't intervene everywhere. There are places you can't intervene at all. But I believe it is right that when we have the capability to make a difference that we do.

The horrors of Kosovo will accelerate a debate about an international right to intervene that Mr. Blair said should be made at NATO, the United Nations and other international organizations.

"People are recognizing that there is a serious problem with the Brazilian economy it develops into a serious problem for the British economy or the European economy or the American economy. It is similar with security problems.

Working in shirt-sleeves in his airy office and sipping a midafternoon tea, Mr. Blair was eager on Thursday to keep the spotlight on Mr. Milosevic and not allow the accidental NATO bombing of Kosovar refugees to disrupt the allied air campaign.

"There are real strategic interests at stake in the Balkans," the prime minister told me. "But I believe that a real sense of moral purpose is also motivating NATO. We either allow ethnic cleansing to succeed, or we say that the world community has an obligation to stop this most violent form of nationalism.

"Our job is to go in there and reverse it and defeat it," he continued.

"Just as globalization is opening up the world's financial architecture for discussion, re-evaluation and improvement, so we are being forced to con-

front that is war crimes territory, I noted. Aren't you saying that NATO should be seeking to arrest Mr. Milosevic rather than keep a door open for him to make a deal? Mr. Blair skipped the mush that some of his fellow alliance leaders serve on that subject.

"I do not regard it as a negotiation. We have set out objectives and made demands. The campaign will go on until we meet them. Yes, I agree, it is difficult to see long-term stability

**"We either allow ethnic cleansing to succeed, or we say that the world community has an obligation to stop this violent nationalism."**

while this man's policies remain active in the region."

His contempt for and concern over Europe's weak performance in Bosnia and again in Kosovo last autumn drives Mr. Blair's determination to build up the military capacity of NATO's European members. He confirmed in our conversation that he had favored sending British troops into Kosovo last October as part of an international force, (Washington squelched any discussion of the idea.)

"I was always in the forward end of the troop on this, because I always thought if we didn't intervene sooner, we would have to intervene later."

Mr. Blair was more cautious when asked about the use of ground troops

for combat now, an idea opposed by his friend and political ally, President Bill Clinton. But Mr. Blair projected a sense that he expects events to move NATO in that direction as the air war "intensifies" and breaks the Serbs' organized ability to resist in Kosovo.

"We have all options under review. We constantly revise them. But we have made it clear that our plan is not for a land invasion to fight our way into Kosovo. We have set ourselves the task of using ground forces to allow the refugees to return. But it is important for us to keep the maximum flexibility in our own thinking and strategy, and not to feel obliged to discuss every last detail of it publicly."

He then counseled me not to rush past the obvious. "The key point is that we would be doing this air campaign in any event, because it would take some time to assemble an effective ground force."

Mr. Blair turns 46 on May 6. Many analysts in Britain believe that only an unexpected calamity — such as an economic depression, or perhaps a war in the Balkans turning bad on him — can keep this personable baby boomer from leading Britain for the next decade.

Kosovo is an initiation, he concluded, surfacing the high moral sense and the killer instinct that cobab in Tony Blair: "This is the first time that my generation has had to come to terms with the fact that it is necessary to use force on certain occasions to do what is right. I do believe that, in the end, if a course is right it will win. I also believe we have the capability in NATO to make sure that we do win."

*The Washington Post*

**Don't Remove the Lever Against China's Misbehavior**

By Robert E. Lighthizer

argue the contrary, the decision of a panel of international bureaucrats might well go against it.

Indeed, the European Union, Canada and Mexico (among others) already have argued vociferously that the national security exception may provide no defense against a challenge to economic sanctions. They did so in challenging American action against countries that do business with Cuba, Iran and Libya. (The case was settled before it went before a WTO panel.)

So it is reasonable to expect that the Europeans, Canadians and Mexicans might support Beijing in a complaint against a future American use of the national security exception to impose such sanctions against China.

If an international panel found against the United States, then it would have to back down, acquiesce in Chinese retaliatory trade measures, or ignore the ruling and do great damage to the authority of the WTO — all bad options. These considerations would, of course, greatly influence internal debate within a future U.S. administration and would discourage linking trade sanctions to Chinese misbehavior in the first place.

So what lever would the United States have against the Chinese if, for example, they truly menaced Taiwan? Without sanctions and other economic penalties, it might be forced to resort to more drastic approaches, including military intervention.

The Clinton administration may not see the link between China's actions in various areas, but you can be sure that the Chinese do. After all, China is neither a free market nor a democratic country.

Its leaders view economics the same way they view defense, foreign policy or human rights. It is a means of exerting the power of the state and maintaining control of its population.

But China would probably argue that its actions did not threaten America's "essential national security interests" — or that there was not an "emergency in international relations," both WTO standards. While the United States would

take against imports from a particular country for national security reasons do not violate the WTO's obligations.

Moreover, Congress should adopt a provision stating that, if the WTO ever finds that actions taken by the United States for national security reasons are inconsistent with its obligations

**Once China is in the World Trade Organization, the United States may not be able to restrict Chinese imports in response to threats toward Taiwan, human rights violations in Tibet or religious persecution.**

to the trade organization, this so-called inconsistency shall be resolved by its prompt and automatic withdrawal from it.

While admirers of the WTO may claim that these would be extraordinary measures, the simple truth is that such steps are called for in this instance.

Under the WTO and its predecessor organization, the United States has never been in a situation remotely similar to the one that would exist if

these islands lie as far as 1,600 kilometers (1,000 miles) south of China. They are close to virtually every ally of the United States in Southeast Asia and would give the Chinese a powerful platform from which to intimidate those countries, as well as Japan and Korea, whose principal sea lanes run straight through the area.

China is also reported to have helped North Korea build a new three-stage rocket that could soon give that country the ability to launch nuclear missiles at Alaska, Hawaii and eventually the West Coast. Taken together, these events leave no room for reasonable doubt that the Chinese are intent on becoming the dominant power in Asia, whether without regard for the legitimate security concerns of the United States.

Likewise, China's behavior on human rights issues has deteriorated significantly. In its recent report on human rights, the U.S. State Department forthrightly conceded as much.

The United States cannot allow itself to be put in a position where its options in reacting to such behavior are limited.

If the Chinese must be admitted to the WTO, all of the organization's relevant agreements should be amended to make it clear that any action

the Chinese were admiring. Until now, those countries that were viewed as potentially hostile to America were not members of the World Trade Organization.

Moreover, Congress should adopt a provision stating that, if the WTO ever finds that actions taken by the United States for national security reasons are inconsistent with its obligations

China is entirely different in this respect.

If the Clinton administration is unwilling to recognize this fact, Congress should insure that this White House does not deprive future presidents of the right to do so.

*The writer, a trade lawyer whose clients include several U.S. steelmakers, was a deputy trade representative in Ronald Reagan's administration. He contributed this comment to The New York Times.*

*Letters intended for publication should be addressed to "Letters to the Editor" and contain the writer's signature, name and full address. Letters should be brief and are subject to editing. We cannot be responsible for the return of unsolicited manuscripts.*

**IN OUR PAGES: 100, 75 AND 50 YEARS AGO****1899: Partisanship**

LONDON — The "Daily Telegraph" says: "It is not too much to say that if the question of the future of the United States outside their own immediate shores is to be made the shuttlecock of Republican and Democratic 'bosses,' then the white man's burden which they have assumed will prove too heavy for their shoulders. Should political partisanship lead to a failure of American enterprise as a civilizing power, it would redound to the discredit of the genius of the Anglo-Saxon race and would obstruct the progress of the great cause of humanity."

**1949: U.S. Maneuvers**

FRANKFURT — Seventy thousand American occupation troops began large-scale maneuvers in northern Bavaria to test how quickly and efficiently American combat strength can be mustered to repel an attack from the East. Virtually every man in the occupation forces will be engaged in the week-long "Operation Shower" in the first full mobilization of American strength in Germany since the war. A "mythical enemy" is scheduled to move out of Czechoslovakia.

**1924: Movie Combine**

NEW YORK — One of the largest combines in the history of the movie industry was completed with the merger of the Metro, the Goldwyn and the

## HEALTH/SCIENCE

## New Approach to Cancers Trailblazer Traces the Genetic Fingerprints

By Jane E. Brody

New York Times Service

**N**EW YORK — Cancer was once thought to be a single disease that attacked different tissues. Then it was recognized to be a hundred different diseases as determined by the particular tissue involved and the kind of cells within that tissue that were growing out of control.

Now, the sophisticated techniques of a burgeoning field called molecular pathology are suggesting that cancer comes in countless variations, each with a genetically determined molecular fingerprint that indicates how deadly or indolent it is likely to be and how aggressively it should be treated.

"There are probably a million cancers, maybe as many as there are patients with cancer," said Carlos Cordon-Cardo, director of the division of molecular pathology at Memorial Sloan-Kettering Cancer Center in New York. "While there will be some garden varieties, we need to look at cancer as an individualized disease and develop individual treatment protocols for patients with different molecular profiles."

Dr. Cordon-Cardo, whose interest in pathology dates from his boyhood, is a leader among researchers hoping to use molecular pathology to transform the treatment of many cancers, increasing chances of cure in some cases and avoiding unnecessary treatment in others. It is a hot field that is already beginning to alter the treatment of some common cancers, including breast cancer.

"Molecular pathology will revolutionize our approach to cancer diagnosis and treatment," said Richard Klausner, director of the National Cancer Institute. "We've been looking at cancer cells under the microscope for 100 years. We now know it's not the appearance of these cells but their molecular instructions that determine how a tumor will behave." He said the task of the next three to five years would be to determine which of the 50,000 genes that define a cancer cell were relevant to prognosis and treatment.

Already, researchers have discovered that cancers have types just the way blood does: only more of them. Analyses of the genetic characteristics of tumors has already begun to transform the diagnosis, prognosis and treatment of some cancers and is expected to rad-



Carlos Cordon-Cardo: "There are probably a million cancers."

ically alter treatment decisions for many other cancers in the years to come.

For example, researchers have discovered that 30 percent of breast cancers produce unusually high amounts of a marker protein called HER-2/neu, which renders them particularly ferocious. Researchers developed a designer-drug called Herceptin that interferes with the marker protein and helps to control advanced breast cancer. The drug is now being tested against less advanced breast cancers as well as the 20 percent of ovarian cancers and some prostate cancers that produce too much of the protein.

**A**NOTHER success story involves the estrogen-receptor marker in breast cancer and the consequent use of the antiestrogen tamoxifen to reduce both the risk of recurrence and the development of a second cancer in the opposite breast. Molecular markers are also being used successfully to make treatment decisions in childhood leukemia and colon cancer.

The findings that are emerging almost weekly from molecular pathology laboratories are leading many to dismiss the notion that a single "magic bullet" would one day be found to cure all cancers.

While that may sound like bad news,

Dr. Cordon-Cardo and others say the new findings are among the most hopeful developments in cancer research. They hold the promise of leading to new and more specific tools for early detection and for choosing treatment regimens that are just potent enough to eradicate a cancer but not any more powerful than necessary.

Through an understanding of a tumor's molecular fingerprints, Dr. Cordon-Cardo explained, it should be possible to avoid using the therapeutic equivalent of a sledgehammer to kill an ahen when the cancer being treated is not particularly virulent. In other cases, when a tumor has fingerprints that indicate it is highly aggressive, oncologists may be able to tell in advance that they must throw the therapeutic book at it.

For example, prostate cancers vary greatly in their virulence, but doctors are unable to say for sure who will do well with minimal treatment and who will die without radical surgery or other aggressive therapies.

"Molecular signatures will allow us to identify tumors that are insensitive to a particular form of treatment from the get-go," Dr. Cordon-Cardo said. "Some of the genes we're studying will help us know in advance of treatment how certain drugs will impact tumors."

## BOOKS

## OTHER PEOPLE'S CHILDREN

By Joanna Trollope. 294 pages.  
\$23.95. Viking.

Reviewed by Jonathan Yardley

JOANNA TROLLOPE'S intelligent, affecting and unabashedly old-fashioned novels do, with domestic matters: love, family, parenthood, loyalty, betrayal. Her characters are drawn from the English middle class, sometimes the gentry; judging by her steadily growing American readership, she has crossed the Atlantic with ease.

"Other People's Children" is her most populous, complex and ambitious novel. Because it takes her several score pages to get everything in place, the novel is not as tightly constructed as "A Spanish Lover" and may tax some readers' patience. Most certainly, though, she repays the relatively small labor the reader must put forth, because in its second half "Other People's Children" is a penetrating novel about life in the fin-de-siècle extended family.

Trollope brings many gifts to her labors, especially her ability to write about children. Few things are harder to do, for the novelist must take on the double burden of creating convincing young people while writing for adult readers. The temptation to lapse into baby talk or teen argot is acute, and many writers succumb to it. Trollope, by refreshing contrast, manages to convey the moods, attitudes and language of children without condescending to

them or to the reader.

This novel could not have been written in the absence of that gift, for it is at least as much about children as it is about parents. It begins with two fortyish people, Matthew and Josie, who fall in love and divorce their spouses to be with each other. In time it expands to include the spouses whom they left, various grandparents, a woman who died two decades ago at a cruelly young age and children from 8 years old to the mid-twenties. It is a rich and baffling tapestry, or, as a most engaging older gentleman puts it:

"The thing is, and I've no idea whether it's bad or good, that, most of my life, I've played in a nice, manageable little three-corner — me, my late wife and my daughter. And now, with Elizabeth proposing to get married, I seem suddenly to be part of some mad musical with a very poor director and a cast of thousands. This child coming this morning has a mother somewhere who's married to someone else with three children, and they all have a mother and an aunt and grandparents. It's bewildering, really it is. And I keep thinking — where will it stop?"

The Elizabeth in question, the old man's daughter, is a 38-year-old civil servant who has bought a small house in need of remodeling and has engaged the services of Tom Carver, an architect who happens to be the former husband of Josie who ran off with Matthew. Tom is not merely the father of Josie's son, 8-year-old Rufus, he also has two grown children, a son named Lucas and a daughter named Dale, the offspring of his

first marriage, to Pauline, who died many years ago of an illness contracted while the family was on holiday in Greece.

That is barely the half of it. Not merely

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## **NASDAQ NATIONAL MARKET**

Continued on Page 15

# Herald Tribune

## BUSINESS / FINANCE

MONDAY, APRIL 19, 1999

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### EU Officials Make Pledge On Reforms

**Finance Chiefs Also Cite Costly Effects of Kosovo**

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

DRESDEN — European finance ministers pledged this weekend to revamp their labor and goods markets, making it easier for companies to hire and fire employees and to sell their products.

The finance ministers also said that after spending to stimulate sluggish economies, fiscal belt-tightening was a priority again, while acknowledging that the war and refugee crisis in Yugoslavia could push up spending and put a further drag on growth.

"War costs a lot of money — make no mistake about that," Finance Minister Hans Eichel of Germany said after chairing a two-day meeting of ministers and central bankers. "And expending costs an incredible amount of money."

The bloc has pledged 800 million euros (\$856 million) for humanitarian aid in the first three weeks of the war.

While the ministers offered no concrete plans to back up the optimism generated by a recent European Central Bank interest-rate cut, the bank's president, Wim Duisenberg, said a steady process of considered reform was better than hasty change.

What is needed now is more intensive study to work out which reforms are needed in which country, Mr. Duisenberg said.

The central bank made clear that after slashing interest rates for the 11 single-currency countries to record lows, it is now up to governments to give business a push by cutting regulations and bringing down taxes, especially on labor.

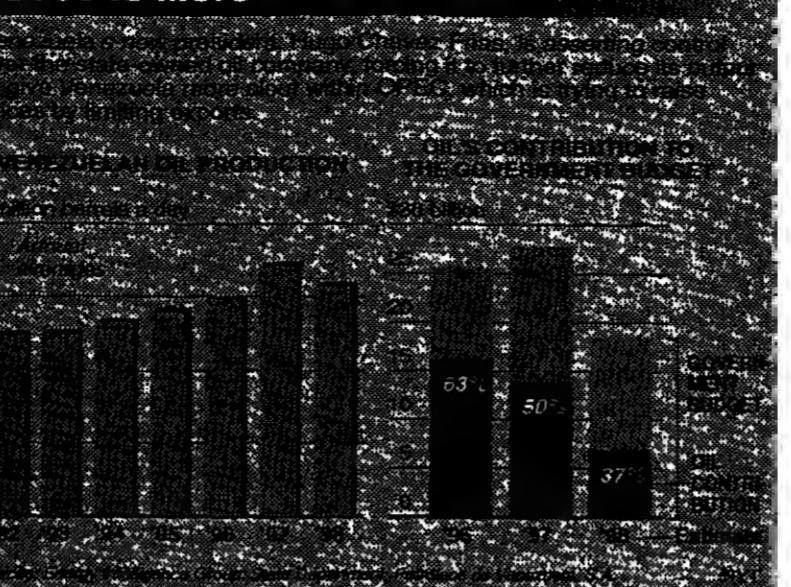
"We all understand this as a call that we must continue to pursue structural reform," Mr. Eichel said at a news conference, his first since being appointed finance minister after the resignation of his predecessor, Oskar Lafontaine.

Flagging growth in Italy and Germany were behind the central bank's unexpectedly deep-point cut in its main interest rate to 2.5 percent on April 8. Mr. Duisenberg underscored the impression that no more cuts are in the pipeline.

"The bell is now maybe more clearly than before in the politicians' court," he said Saturday. — (Reuters, Bloomberg)



Less Is More



### Senator Warns EU On Banning Aircraft

**Airlines Risk U.S. Reprisals, McCain Says**

By Mitchell Martin  
*International Herald Tribune*

NEW YORK — A prominent U.S. senator has warned the European Union that European airlines are at risk because of growing trade friction between the United States and the EU.

In a letter to the EU transportation commissioner, Neil Kimock, Senator John McCain, Republican of Arizona, implied that Washington could take broad-based measures to retaliate for a proposed EU ban on older U.S. aircraft.

The United States is incensed over what it sees as outright protectionism in an EU ban on aging U.S. commercial jets that have been fitted with noise-reduction gear.

Along with a threatened ban on supersonic Concorde flights by Air France and British Airways, Mr. McCain, who is chairman of the Senate Commerce, Science and Transportation Committee, hinted that a wider action against European airlines might be used as a form of retaliation.

Mr. McCain, who has announced his candidacy for the presidency, said in the letter that a complaint filed by Northwest Airlines with the U.S. Transportation Department had been based on a law that authorized the government to "deny, amend, modify, suspend, revoke or transfer" a foreign airline's permit to fly in the United States.

Mr. McCain added: "Clearly, the United States has the ability to take actions that are very detrimental to European interests. It pains me to say that the potential for a harmful trade war in the aviation sector is a real possibility."

The letter, dated Thursday, was released by David Aaron, U.S. undersecretary of commerce, who said the European position was a cynical attempt to favor European companies over those of the United States.

The European Union, he said, was not measuring noise output but instead using a technical standard known as bypass ratio, which he said had "no correlation" with sound levels.

Because the bypass ratio — which measures air flow through the engine — does not have a direct bearing on noise output, Mr. Aaron said, planes as noisy as

or noisier than those being banned would be permitted to fly in Europe.

The Commerce Department has said the ban would hurt sales of more than \$1 billion of U.S. products including aircraft engines and noise-reduction gear made by manufacturers such as Boeing Co., General Electric Co. and United Technologies Co.'s Pratt & Whitney unit.

The European Union has made some moves toward mollifying the United States on the issue. The rule was originally to have taken effect in April 2002

See TRADE, Page 13

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wht.com

### Venezuela Starts Reining In Oil Giant

**New President Takes Steps in Restructuring the "State Within the State"**

By Larry Rohter  
*New York Times Service*

column," and vowed to "subordinate PDVSA to the Venezuelan state."

CARACAS — The giant state-owned oil company, Petroleo de Venezuela SA, typically holds important meetings in its sleek, towering headquarters here. In late March, however, the country's new president, Hugo Chavez Frias, convened a special session of the company's board at Miraflores Palace, where he has his office.

Venezuelans who keep an eye on the oil business, which includes just about everyone in this country of 23 million people, it was clear that Mr. Chavez was making a powerful statement. Almost from its birth in 1976, PDVSA, as the company is called here, has operated with a level of independence that has rankled the country's political leaders, but which they have been unable to curb.

As a candidate in the presidential election in December, Mr. Chavez, a 44-year-old former army paratrooper who in 1992 led an unsuccessful coup attempt, made the state oil giant one of the principal targets of his campaign against what he called a complacent and bloated status quo. He labeled the company an uncontrollable "state within the state," criticized its extravagant "gold-card

"We are going to make profound changes at PDVSA," the president pledged during an interview here. "This is a state enterprise, and I plan to run it for the benefit of the national treasury. It cannot go on acting like the sovereign republic of PDVSA, contracting debt as if it were a country of its own. We have already done more in a short time than has been done in many years, but we plan deeper transformation, restructuring and redirection."

Mr. Chavez's critics here and abroad are suspicious of his plans, arguing that the oil company functions far more efficiently than the rest of the government and needs only some minor tinkering, not a major overhaul. But both sides agree that the very size and complexity

of the company's operations make Mr. Chavez's goal a daunting one.

Thanks to its autonomy and Venezuela's proven crude oil reserves of 76.1 billion barrels, PDVSA has become the second largest oil company in the world and the largest foreign supplier of oil to the United States in recent years. It regularly accounts for nearly 80 percent of total Venezuelan exports and more than a third of all government revenue, pumping nearly 3.2 million barrels of oil a day in 1998 and generating revenues of \$25.7 billion.

"PDVSA is an elephant in a swimming pool," Ah Rodriguez Araque, the new minister of energy and mines said. "Because it has such weight, any movement it makes immediately produces an effect in the whole of the national economy."

The change envisioned by Mr. Chavez has further clouded the prospects for foreign oil companies operating in Venezuela. The companies had planned to invest \$65 billion when the previous government opened up the industry. But many exploration contracts were signed by foreign companies before oil prices slumped and apply to areas where costs are high and results have been disappointing. Still, as Luis

See OIL, Page 13

### CYBERSCAPE

### Tire-Kicking Enters the Internet Age

By David Ignatius  
*Washington Post Service*

WASHINGTON — The lease on my trusty Toyota is expiring in June, so I've been spending spring weekends driving from auto mall to auto mall — encountering acres of shiny new cars, thousands of helium balloons and too many salesmen who, it seems to me, would have been better off pursuing careers in dentistry.

Visiting all these car lots has been a reminder that the business of selling automobiles hasn't evolved much since I bought my first car 30 years ago. In many ways, it's a retailing dinosaur, a hedgehog system in which manufacturers release their products to thousands of dealers — some good, some horrible — and hope for the best.

But that is finally changing, thanks in part to the Internet, which is starting to transform this industry along with the rest of American business. In simple terms, the Internet gives automakers a new way to connect directly with their customers, allowing them to manage their brands more aggressively.

The inevitable result has been a growing tension between American carmakers and auto dealers. The manufacturers are pushing for more control, and the dealers are peevish.

At the cutting edge of this retailing revolution is Ford Motor Co. When Ford issued its annual report this month, it lobbed a pleasantly wrapped bomb in the direction of its 4,800 dealers. The new chief executive, Jacques Nasser, declared his intention to create "the world's leading consumer company selling automotive products and services."

To become that kind of consumer company, Ford knows it must consolidate the crazy-quilt pattern of deal-

erships around the country, so that only the strongest and best dealers survive.

The company is moving into areas that have too many small, poorly managed dealerships and buying them up, then combining them into regional groups known as Auto Collections. These regional collections are the automotive equivalent of network owned-and-operated stations in television.

Auto Collections now are operating in Tulsa and Oklahoma City, Oklahoma; Salt Lake City, Utah, and San Diego. Another is planned for Rochester, New York. Tulsa is a model of how the process is supposed to work: Eight dealerships there are being consolidated into five, and several satellite Auto Care centers will be opened. The idea is to create modern, professionally managed dealerships with salaried salespeople, no-haggle selling and large inventories of new and used cars.

Meanwhile, Ford also is pushing the Internet. Customers can go to [ford.com](http://ford.com) and check models, options and inventories, arrange financing — and connect with a dealer who will negotiate a final price by electronic mail.

Jim O'Connor, president of the company's Ford division, insisted that "retail dealers will remain our primary distribution system, now and for as long as I can see." Despite the growth of the Internet, he said, "most people like to feel the 'touch zones' — get in the car, feel the wheel, change the position of the seats. It's an emotional feeling."

Still, some powerful Ford dealers resent what they see as the company's intrusion into their business.

Take Jerry Reynolds, who owns Prestige Ford in Garland, Texas — the biggest seller of Ford pickups in the world. He is already using the Internet aggressively: He has a four-person Internet address:

*CyberScape@ihf.com*

Recent technology articles:  
[www.ihf.com/IHT/TECH](http://www.ihf.com/IHT/TECH)

### CURRENCY RATES

April 16 Other Dollar Values April 16

Cross Rates	U.S.	Euro	SF	Yen	CS	Dane	Greek Drachma	Persian	Peru	Swiss	Other	Current	Persian	Swiss	Yen	U.S.
London (0)	1.6142	—	2.4766	199.645	2,400.5	11,209.7	482,277	12,4169	2,243.96	1,700.4	—	1.6142	1,700.4	1,700.4	11,209.7	2,4766
New York (0)	—	1.6141	199.63	117.80	1.679	4,945.303	185	1,823	2,272.73	1,722.5	—	1.6141	1,722.5	1,722.5	4,945.303	199.63
Tokyo	118.95	10.25	70.31	75.94	17.11	N.Q.	14.32	—	1,102.96	1,102.96	—	118.95	1,102.96	1,102.96	75.94	10.25
Toronto	1.4793	2.8579	0.869	1.2559	0.2132	1.4863	0.1781	—	3,439.0	1,580.9	—	1.4793	1,580.9	1,580.9	3,439.0	2.8579
Zurich	1.499	2.4162	—	1.2719	7,009.2	21,592	0.4937	0.18	3,414.5	3,414.5	—	1.499	3,414.5	3,414.5	7,009.2	2.4162
One euro	1.0668	0.6633	1.6227	126.16	1.5851	7,433.2	324.45	8.8825	1,102.96	1,102.96	—	1.0668	1,102.96	1,102.96	8.8825	0.6633
One SDR	1.3995	0.8424	2.0222	161.939	2,026.3	9,3558	407.97	11.2495	2,234.56	2,234.56	—	1.3995	2,234.56	2,234.56	11.2495	0.8424

Interbank rates excluding commissions.

\* To buy one pound is To buy one dollar. \*\* For Tel Aviv, N.Y.C. not quoted; N.Y.C. not available.

\*\* Special floating rights of the IMF.

Sources: Bank of Tokyo-Mitsubishi (Tokyo); Royal Bank of Canada (Toronto); Banque de

France (Paris); BNP (Paris); Deutsche

Bank (Frankfurt); French Bank (Paris);

## CAPITAL MARKETS ON MONDAY

# Step-by-Step Investing

## An Expensive Strategy to Try to Hedge Risks

By Mark Hulbert  
New York Times Service

**N**EW YORK — Few investment-performance guarantees are worth the paper they are printed on. But there is an exception: the guarantee that comes with the strategy called dollar cost averaging. People who use this approach know that at least one respect they will always do better than average.

With dollar cost averaging you invest gradually in equal amounts at regular

### INVESTING

intervals. There is no single formula; you can choose the number of installments you want.

Many people use dollar cost averaging out of necessity. They may have only \$100 a month to invest, for example, so they sign up with a mutual fund to have that amount drawn directly from their checking accounts every 30 days.

But some people use dollar cost averaging when they already have a big chunk of money in hand. Say you have \$30,000 and want to invest it in IBM stock three \$10,000 installments over the next year: today, six months from now, and 12 months from now. Let's further assume that six months from now, International Business Machines Corp. is trading at \$20.625 a share, up from its close Fri-

day of \$17.935, and at \$270.625 a year from now. The average of those three prices is \$220.542 a share. Yet your average purchase price will be \$212.935, or \$7.61 less.

Those numbers might look like strange alchemy, but they're not. That is because dollar cost averaging lets you buy more shares when IBM is trading at \$17.625 and fewer shares when it is at \$270.625. The same goes for all variations on the strategy: Your average purchase price will always be lower than the stock's average price.

It sounds wonderful, but it does not mean you should use dollar cost averaging for all your investments. The guarantee of below-average prices notwithstanding, you often can do better by investing in a lump sum.

Under what circumstances should you invest in a leap, instead of intervals? Of course, the answer can be known only in hindsight; it depends on whether the value of the asset rises or falls over the period in question. If it rises, you will be better off buying in a lump sum at the outset.

Again using the IBM example, let's say that instead of averaging, you make your entire investment today. The average purchase price will be \$170.625 — far better than the \$212.94 average above. The only scenario in which dollar cost averaging comes out ahead of lump-sum investing is when the asset declines in value over the investment period.

At its core, dollar cost averaging is

little more than a bearish market-timing judgment, an implicit bet on a decline. That is not necessarily a criticism. There is nothing wrong with being a market timer per se, or with being bearish. But if you think that an asset is going to decline, why buy any of it now? Why not wait?

I concede that I am not being entirely fair in my analysis. We do not know in advance how an investment will perform in the short-term. Many people probably use dollar cost averaging simply because of that uncertainty — and want to reduce risk.

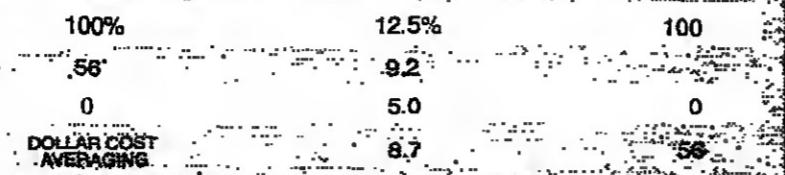
It is true that the strategy reduces risk over the period in which you invest. Yet even as a risk reducer, dollar cost averaging in any form comes up wanting,

### A Losing Strategy?

Dollar cost averaging is not the best way to reduce risk when investing a lump sum. A new study has found that investors can pick up some extra return, and reduce risk just as much, with a simpler strategy: If an investor buys just over half of his intended investment immediately and waits 12 months to invest the balance, the results beat dollar cost averaging.

Assumptions: 12.5 percent annual return and average historical volatility for S&P 500 and 5 percent annual return for cash.

By allocating this portion of the total amount you plan to invest in the S&P 500 at the start...



Sources: "A Comparative Test of the Performance of Dollar Cost Averaging," by Moshe Arye Milevsky and Steven E. Posner.

# Dreams of Day Trading Can Turn to Nightmares

By Jane Bryant Quinn  
Washington Post Service

**N**EW YORK — Are you tempted by day trading? Eager to dump your day job and spend your time jousting with stocks on a computer screen?

Listen first to James Lee, head of the Electronic Traders Association and president of Momentum Securities, a day-trading firm in Houston. "In your first six months," he said, "you will lose anywhere from \$10,000 to \$100,000 or more."

Mr. Lee is upbeat about your odds of making money, if you last long enough to learn the ropes. But would you still be standing after that large a loss? Do you even understand what, exactly, day trading is?

I'll start by telling you what it's not. You are not a day trader if you join an on-line chat group whose members deliberately pile into a cheap stock to drive up its price. Here, you're perilously close to becoming an illegal market manipulator.

Nor are you a true day trader if you open an on-line account with a discount brokerage firm and make short-term trades in Internet stocks on your lunch hour. You're a part-time speculator who is getting a feel for what career day trading might be like.

Trading can be expensive through discount brokerage firms. The commissions are O.K., if they're \$15 or less per trade. But you generally don't get the best price possible on executions, meaning the price at which your shares are bought or sold.

Day traders buy and sell rapidly, holding shares a few minutes, maybe a few hours, rarely longer than a day. They usually take profits in tiny amounts — say, \$25 per trade, after commissions. If they don't get the very best price for the stock when they buy or sell, a profit can quickly turn into a loss.

With discount brokers, you don't necessarily get the best price. The brokers forward your order to a wholesaler (a "market maker") for execution. The wholesaler pays the broker for sending a steady flow of orders. The payment to the broker gets tucked into the price you pay per share.

When orders pile up for a particular stock, the market maker will increase its price. Your order might be filled at a much higher price than you intended to

pay. True day traders don't go through wholesalers. Their buy-and-sell orders go directly to the market (or to private trading networks), where they can specify their price. They trade full-time, through complex computer systems, at specialized day-trading firms.

Becoming a day trader isn't cheap. You might pay \$1,000 to \$7,000 to learn how to use the computer system, a rental fee for using the trading firm's equipment, commissions ranging from \$9 to \$15 per trade, and another \$9 to \$15 for trades placed on private networks.

You're expecting to recoup these costs (as well as the trading losses of your learning period) through better executions — meaning better prices on purchases and sales — than you would get from a discount brokerage firm.

Trading is risky, and most people are not temperamentally suited for it. If you're tempted to try, experiment with an on-line brokerage account before moving on to expensive day-trading lessons.

The day-trading fad has brought a lot of bad actors into the field. Among the risks a novice faces:

• False advertising. Day-trading firms might flimflam you into thinking you'll get rich quick. Some even claim "pin-point accuracy" for their trading systems.

When Massachusetts shut down an abusive day-trading office, it found records showing that 67 out of 68 customers lost money.

• Lost cash. You might be encouraged to lend any spare money in your account to other traders. You earn interest on your loan, in the 10 percent to 15 percent range.

But if those traders lose money, the firm does not pay you back. At some firms, "customers don't know they're making these loans," said Matthew Nestor, chief of enforcement of the Massachusetts Securities Division.

• Risky margin. You typically trade on margin, meaning with borrowed money. That can magnify your gains but can also deal you devastating losses.

The National Association of Securities Dealers is pushing for better disclosure. The association is also considering whether to require day-trading firms to be sure their customers can afford the risk. You cannot afford it unless you can lose \$100,000 without tears.

## EU to Study Exempting Eurobonds From Withholding Tax

Bloomberg News

**D**RDEN — European Union finance ministers have agreed to study ways of exempting Eurobonds from a proposed withholding tax, hoping to overcome Britain's fears that the tax would damage London's financial markets.

The EU will examine whether shield-

ing the \$3.3 trillion international bond market from the tax is a "feasible solution," Finance Minister Hans Eichel of Germany said Saturday. "That is the condition for British approval."

Britain had threatened to veto the 20 percent tax on interest income, claiming it could drive investment away from the EU, crimp the London-based Eurobond

market and put 110,000 jobs in the British financial industry at risk.

The tax is meant to cement a common capital market to go along with the single currency, the euro, adopted by 11 EU countries in January, but it comes at an awkward time for a British government trying to persuade its citizens to eventually move to the euro.

Luxembourg, the smallest state in the Union and home to a large offshore investment industry, has said it will only endorse the tax if the bloc persuades neighboring countries such as Switzerland to adopt similar measures.

The tax would be levied on interest income in one EU state paid to residents of another EU state. It would not apply to domestic savers, people living outside the 15-nation bloc or institutional investors such as pension funds.

The chancellor of the Exchequer, Gordon Brown, will report on possible ways of exempting Eurobonds on May 25. Mr. Eichel said.

Mr. Brown said there was a chance of a compromise on the tax by June.

## Inflation Figures No Longer Set Off the Alarms

Compiled in Our Staff From Bloomberg

**N**EW YORK — The U.S. bond market will need more than another set of soft inflation numbers to push Treasury bond prices higher and yields lower, economists say.

The benchmark 30-year bond finished Friday at a yield of 5.57 percent, up from 5.46 percent the previous week. The price ended at 95 10/32, down from 96 29/32 the previous Friday.

Bond prices slid as the government said Friday that new homes were being built at a faster rate than expected. A rise in home construction could mean the economy is heating up, which could prompt the Federal Reserve Board to raise interest rates to slow the growth.

But economists and traders said the market was becoming inured to infla-

### U.S. CREDIT MARKETS

Andrews an economist at WestLB, told clients last week. Like many economists, he admitted to some confusion over low U.S. inflation at a time of strong growth and tight labor markets. Inflation is expected to run at an annualized rate of 1.9 percent in 1999.

While offering a fairly positive outlook for the U.S. economy, he said unforeseeable factors, such as a stock market decline, might slow growth.

Meanwhile, Conoco Inc. and other commodity producers are finding it easier to sell bonds as the U.S. economy hums along and prices of oil and other raw materials recover from a years-long slump. Houston-based Conoco had investors lining up for a \$4-billion bond issue, — \$1 billion more than originally planned — thanks in part to a 4.3 percent increase in crude oil prices since the start of the year.

In the first quarter of 1999, sales of new debt and preferred stock by oil companies including Phillips Petroleum Co. and Occidental Petroleum Corp. totaled about \$10 billion, or about half of last year's total debt sales by the industry, according to research by Salomon Smith Barney.

(Reuters, AP, Bloomberg)

## Most Active International Bonds

Compiled by Paul Floren

The 250 most active international bonds traded through the Euroclear system for the week ending April 16. Prices supplied by Telekurs.

**Australian Dollar**

98 Australia Govt 6M 11/15/06 109.5400 6.1600

**British Pound**

77 Australia zero 01/10/23 23.5100 5.2100

39 Denmark zero 01/10/23 108.3000 6.2700

37 Denmark zero 01/10/23 108.3000 6.2400

38 Denmark 8/5/19/03 117 6.8400

45 Denmark 7/1/19/07 120.7500 5.8000

50 Denmark zero 01/10/23 108.3000 6.1700

52 Denmark zero 01/10/23 101.5200 5.8000

83 Denmark 7/1/19/03 117 5.5200

93 Denmark Tbill 9/1/19/03 9.9000 2.9000

100 Denmark 5/8/19/05 106.5300 4.6900

122 Fannie Mae WB 6/4 06/07/02 104.4100 4.5800

195 Rsl Fin N 6/4 03/13/38 124.9200 5.3000

234 Britain 6/2/10/03 107.5300 6.0400

**Danish Krone**

20 Denmark 6/11/15/09 115.2000 5.2100

39 Denmark zero 01/10/23 108.3000 6.2700

45 Denmark zero 01/10/23 108.3000 6.2400

77 Denmark zero 01/10/23 108.3000 6.2400

117 Nykredit 6/4 10/11/29 99.1000 6.0500

118 Realkredit 6/4 10/11/29 99.1000 6.0500

119 Denmark 7/1 11/04/27 127.1900 5.5000

226 Unikredit 7/1 11/04/27 127.1900 5.5000

197 Denmark Thills zero 01/10/23 108.3000 6.1700

241 Danica Kr 6/10/19/03 99.2800 6.0400

**Deutsche Mark**

157 Credit Fonci 7/4 02/24/03 112.70 6.4300

248 World Bank 6/4 09/27/02 109.3000 5.6000

**Euro**

1 Germany 5/4 01/04/98 108.8023 4.8300

2 Germany 4/7/04/09 101.5433 3.9400

4 Germany 4/7/04/09 101.9411 4.0500

5 Germany 4/7/04/09 107.3969 4.4200

6 Germany 6/4 01/04/09 108.8023 4.8300

7 Germany 6/4 01/04/09 108.8023 4.8300

78 Germany 6/4 01/04/09 108.8023 4.8300

# Why, for Owner, Is Blush Off Revlon?

## Pereleman Blames the Market, but Debt May Play a Big Part

By Dana Canedy  
New York Times Service

**NEW YORK** — The cover of Revlon Inc.'s latest annual report could easily be mistaken for the front of a glamour magazine, with the model Cindy Crawford and the actress Cybill Shepherd looking flawless in the company's "tawny" blush and "hot coco" lipstick.

But the image of Revlon's major owner, the billionaire Ronald Pereleman, is anything but impenetrable.

A 1980s-style dealmaker with a passion for the high life, he is known for buying out ventures in the nick of time. There have been fiascos — for public shareholders, at least — at Marvel Entertainment Group Inc., Coleman Co., Consolidated Cigar Holdings Inc. and Sunbeam Corp., all of which lost money and accumulated debt on his watch.

Revlon, though, has been the crown jewel of his portfolio: glamorous, with strong cash flow, a business that held his interest and bore his fingerprints. Only weeks ago, it seemed inconceivable that he would consider selling this, his core asset. But now he has declared himself ready to unload it.

After remaining silent for weeks amid speculation that it was about to be sold, Revlon announced this month that it had hired Goldman, Sachs & Co. and Lazarus Frères & Co. to explore its options. Two companies mentioned as likely buyers are Unilever, the British-Dutch consumer-products giant, and L'Oréal S.A. of France, whose chief executive said last week that it was seeking acquisitions.

What changed? Analysts, fund managers and industry experts say Mr. Pereleman has toted up Revlon's huge debts, ganged up its slipping competitive stance and concluded that the picture is unlikely to brighten soon. Winning a decent price for all or part of Revlon, they say, is his best route to salvaging at least part of his reputation as something more than a corporate raider.

Saving face "is his biggest problem," said Andrew Shore, an analyst at PaineWebber. "Everybody wants to see how he handles it. He's got a lot on the line."

One of Mr. Pereleman's closest confidants dismisses this reading, saying the financier is simply frustrated by what he considers investor overreaction to the company's recent poor performance.

"We don't believe Revlon is too highly leveraged, but the investing public thinks so," said Howard Gittis, vice chairman and chief operating officer of Mr. Pereleman's company, MacAndrews & Forbes Holdings Inc. "That is why we are considering selling. You can't keep fighting the marketplace."

For most of the time since Mr. Pereleman purchased it in a leveraged buyout in 1985, Revlon — whose brands include the Almay, Ultima II and Revlon lines of blush, lipstick and eye shadow — seemed to be the exception to his investment pattern. Revlon dominated the cosmetics and toiletry aisles in drugstores and discount chains, and until the second half of last year it was posting respectable financial results.

But then came the unexpected: disappointments in earnings and a decline to sales. Profit from continuing operations tumbled 53 percent in the third quarter and continued to fall in the fourth, to \$6.5 million from \$36.6 million in the corresponding quarter a year earlier.

Revlon blamed its reversals of fortune on weakened consumer buying power abroad and on inventory cutbacks in U.S. drugstores; it expects the latter to continue into the second half of this year. At the same time, management faces formidable new competition, even as Revlon sags under so much debt that analysts say there is too little cash left for a makeover.

The interest on Revlon's \$1.7 billion in debt exceeded its operating income last year. By contrast, interest payments took up just 9 percent of operating income at Procter & Gamble Co., which is quickly emerging as a key Revlon competitor, and 6 percent at Avon Products Inc.

"A company with less debt is by definition somewhat more flexible in their ability to spend," said Heather Hay, an analyst at Merrill Lynch. "The industry in general is one that tends to need a lot of resources to really be able to fund the business and grow."

Three months ago, after Revlon took a \$30 million charge against earnings for restructuring, the company had to ask lenders to ease some terms of its credit agreements. Bob George Fellows, Revlon's chief executive, said too much had been made of the balance-sheet issues.

"Other people may be concerned that our level of debt may seem to impair our ability to perform, but I can absolutely assure you that it doesn't," he said.

Revlon, he added, remains a leader in research and development. He pointed to its Colorstay line of long-lasting makeup and the success of its "age-defying" skin products, and he predicted another hit a line of lipstick using new technology, due out to June. "Over the last five years, we have represented approximately 50 percent of the growth in the color cosmetics category in the mass market," he said. "I will be perfectly happy to let the results of this company through this year, once we get by this difficult period, speak for themselves."

But even if Revlon's immediate problems were not enough to prompt Mr. Pereleman to consider bailing out, another largely overlooked factor is probably adding to the urgency: Unless he finds a quick fix or moves on, he could lose half his shares in the company.

In 1998, Mr. Pereleman issued zero-coupon bonds through Revlon Worldwide, the cosmetics company's privately held parent, that come due on March 15, 2001 — bonds that are secured by 20

million of his shares. When the bonds mature, holders will be owed \$770 million. So, analysts say, Mr. Pereleman faces a choice: If he wants to roll over the bonds, he must begin to clean up Revlon to attract new investors. If he wants to pay off the bonds, he must raise money to come up with the cash — by selling all or part of Revlon or some other holding.

Mr. Gittis said raising cash to pay off the bonds did not figure in the company's desire to sell the business. "We've had zeros cut against Revlon stock now since the early '90s," he said, referring to the bonds. "That has never been a problem for us." Even so, Revlon acknowledges that the market does not bold the company in high regard these days. Any move to refinance the zero-coupon issue could get a chilly reception, said Terrence Dwyer, a fixed-income analyst with KDP Investment Advisors.

"No investor is going to touch it, whether it's a public or private deal," he said. "unless they are certain that the cash

flow will be there." In the meantime, rivals with deeper pockets are squeezing shelf space in the drugstores and discount chains where Revlon competes.

Burdened by its heavy debts, analysts say, Revlon has not made the kinds of investments that have enabled other large cosmetics concerns to prosper.

But Mr. Gittis dismissed as "quite off the mark" any criticism that Revlon's management might not be adequately committed to investing in the business.

Revlon stock rose more than 60 percent in a year on anticipation that the company might be put up for sale and an additional 18 percent when it confirmed the rumors. But the shares' closing price of \$25.25 Friday was still 55 percent below a year ago. Analysts say Revlon's name alone would command a premium in a sale. But the company's highly publicized problems, they add, are sure to hurt in negotiations.

Mr. Gittis said, "If Ronald doesn't get a premium price, he won't sell it."

## TELECOM: German and Italian Finance Chiefs Endorse Merger

Continued from Page 1

should not be allowed to become an obstacle to an alliance with Telecom Italia.

Mr. Cardinale also said the government had no intention of using its so-called golden share to block a possible merger. The Italian government owns 3.4 percent of Telecom Italia and has the power to block a takeover by a foreign company.

"We can use the golden share only for the good of the country, certainly not against the Germans," he said. "It would be like refusing a place to Europe."

Olivetti, meanwhile, said Saturday that it had signed a 2.25 billion euro

(\$24.1 billion) syndicated loan to help finance its \$65 billion offer.

Bloomberg News, quoting people familiar with Telecom Italia, reported that Deutsche Telekom was considering paying as much as 100 billion euros for the Italian company, exceeding Olivetti's hostile offer.

The offer by Deutsche Telekom may include Telecom Italia's nonvoting savings shares and all of its cellular unit.

This would be the second time European governments have arranged a merger of phone companies, following an agreement between Sweden and Norway this year.

## Duma's Question: What Happened To Bank's Profits?

By David Hoffman  
Washington Post Service

MOSCOW — The lower house of Parliament has called for a criminal investigation into how Russia's Central Bank invested billions of dollars in foreign currency reserves in recent years through an obscure offshore firm.

In a resolution, the State Duma asked Friday for an investigation into whether current and former Central Bank officials sent foreign-currency reserves abroad that earned large profits that were not returned to Russia.

The resolution follows reports that billions of dollars were transferred to an offshore company between 1993 and 1996 and that interest on the money earned from investments seems to have disappeared.

The Washington Post reported March 8 that internal documents from the bank showed that the money had been sent into a secret offshore network and that some of the money was clandestinely channeled back into Russia's lucrative short-term Treasury bond market.

Nikolai Gonchar, a member of the Duma's budget committee, said the Central Bank sent \$855 million through this backdoor channel into the Treasury bond market in 1996, when annualized yields were more than 120 percent. But, he said, the Central Bank reported receiving returns of only 5 percent.

But for the moment, the government

## OIL: Venezuela Seeks to Tame Company

Continued from Page 11

Edmundo Paul, president of the Venezuelan Oil Chamber, a local industry trade group, noted, "The issue is not just one of prices, but of success in drilling."

One positive development came in March when a consortium that includes Conoco Inc. announced a significant find in the Gulf of Paria.

Now that prices are beginning to recover, it is unclear how soon the companies will be able to recoup their investments.

The combination of contractual terms and marginality of the fields means that nine out of 10 of the ventures are unprofitable or are about to be. "Bernard Wheelahan, president of Shell de Venezuela, a unit of Royal Dutch/Shell, recently told The Caracas Daily Journal, an English-language paper here.

Mr. Wheelahan, who did not respond to requests for additional comment, also said foreign oil companies here are in an "unsustainable" situation and suggested a renegotiation of contracts might be in order.

"We and every other oil company made those decisions with our eyes wide open," Rob McKee, executive vice president for exploration and production at Conoco, said when asked about the possibility of renegotiating the contracts.

"They are tough terms, and PDVSA has always told us, and continues to tell us, that if those circumstances develop, come talk to us," he said. "My judgment in hindsight is that this is something that needs to be talked about, and over time you can expect Conoco will visit with the Venezuelans about fine-tuning the terms, as opposed to overturning them."

But for the moment, the government

has not only scrapped plans to increase production to 6.5 million barrels a day by the middle of the next decade, it has also ordered cutbacks of more than 600,000 barrels a day as part of OPEC's effort to raise oil prices.

Cutting production has enabled the Chavez government to emerge as an important figure in OPEC's latest effort to raise prices. Within the oil group, Venezuela always had a reputation as a quota-buster, but Mr. Rodriguez has pledged that despite the country's yawning budget deficit, the production cuts by the state oil company over the past several months will remain in place, supporting OPEC's latest effort to lift prices.

Mr. Chavez has also made waves by criticizing the performance of the state oil company's extensive American and European refining networks, particularly its wholly owned Cito subsidiary, saying they do not contribute enough to state coffers.

That has led to speculation that the Venezuelan government, hungry for cash to finance the ambitious social programs Mr. Chavez has promised, might sell all or part of the Cito unit, whose acquisition was completed in 1989 for \$1 billion.

With Venezuela mired in its worst credit and budget crunch in decades, others here have even suggested that Mr. Chavez sell off the state oil company, formed when the government nationalized foreign oil holdings 23 years ago.

An independent assessment conducted in 1997 put the company's value at more than \$80 billion, but disposing of its assets appears to run counter to the president's nationalist instincts.

"PDVSA is not privatizable, and we're not going to talk about that," Mr. Chavez said in a recent speech.

## TRADE: Senator Warns EU of Retaliation in Aircraft Dispute

Continued from Page 11

the beef processors affected, which include such companies as IBP Inc., the world's largest packer of fresh beef, and the meat-packing units of Cargill Inc. and ConAgra Inc. They claim to be losing about \$360 million a year because of the ban.

He was more optimistic about Sir Leon's alternative suggestion, which was that hormone-treated beef be labeled as such in the European Union, giving consumers the option of not buying it.

One area where the EU and United States were in accord was the issue of China's entry into the WTO. Sir Leon said, "There is nothing that the United States has raised that isn't also a concern to us." He added, however, that some areas were more important on one side of the Atlantic than on the other.

President Bill Clinton last week seemingly reversed America's course on accepting

needed stronger privacy-protection rules but that the EU approach, which allowed for more direct government oversight, was actually a threat to privacy. He said one reason was a difference in cultures. Americans are afraid of government intrusion, he said, while "Europeans are concerned with junk mail."

One area where the EU and United States were in accord was the issue of China's entry into the WTO. Sir Leon said, "There is nothing that the United States has raised that isn't also a concern to us." He added, however, that some areas were more important on one side of the Atlantic than on the other.

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In millions	1998	1997	% change <sup>(1)</sup>	Like-for-like <sup>(2)</sup> change <sup>(3)</sup>
FF	€	FF	€	
Net sales	4,013.5	611.8	3,369.5	544.2</

## **U.S. MUTUAL FUNDS**

**Figures as of close  
of trading Friday, April 16**



## SPORTS

# Quarterbacks Dominate NFL Draft

**Couch, McNabb and Smith Go 1-2-3; Saints Get Ricky Williams**

The Associated Press

**NEW YORK** — The quarterbacks went as quickly as 1-2-3. Then the dealing began with Ricky Williams at the center of it all.

Tim Couch, Donovan McNabb and Akili Smith went to Cleveland, Philadelphia and Cincinnati in the National Football League draft on Saturday — the first quarterback trifecta since 1971.

Overall, five quarterbacks were taken in the top dozen picks. Daunte Culpepper went to Minnesota with the 11th choice and Wade McNovn went to Chicago with the 12th pick. A sixth quarterback, Shaun King, was taken in the second round by Tampa Bay — the 50th choice overall — and a seventh signal caller, Brock Huard, went to Seattle in the third round.

But the quarterbacks had to share top billing with the New Orleans Saints and their coach, Mike Ditka, who did just what he said he would do: get Williams, the Heisman Trophy-winning running back, no matter what it took. In turn, Ditka's maneuvering helped out the Washington Redskins.

Ditka made his move after Indianapolis used the fourth choice to take the Miami running back, Edgerrin James instead of Williams. The Saints' coach struck a deal, trading all his picks this year and his first and third next year — a total of eight in all — to Washington for the right to pick Williams with the fifth slot. That set up the rest of the draft and it certainly set up the Redskins.

After the deal was struck, Ditka emerged from the Saints' war room, pumped both fists in the air, fired up a big cigar and shouted: "The power of

prayer did it."

"I love the kid, everything about him," Ditka said of Williams. "It's what we need. I think he's going to show people he's the best college football player coming out. He gives us what Walter Payton gave Chicago."

None of that would have happened had the Colts not taken James over Williams, who was disappointed not to be the first running back taken.

Moreover, the deal opened the way for the Redskins to turn around and trade some of those picks to the Bears for the seventh choice and the player they wanted most: the Georgia cornerback Champ Bailey.

The Colts' president, Bill Polian, said it "basically was tie" between James and Williams, although he said he felt James was better at catching the football.

That's a tall tale the Colts will need, particularly since they traded Marshall Faulk, who had 86 catches last season, to the Rams last Thursday.

It was also a socially significant draft. Of the first five quarterbacks taken, three are black: McNabb, Smith and Culpepper. That equals the entire number of black quarterbacks taken in the first round since the NFL-AFL merger in 1970 — Doug Williams in 1978, Andre Ware in 1990 and Steve McNair in 1995. Oakland, then in the American Football League, chose Eldridge Dickey in the first round in 1968.

"It's about time," said Smith on Saturday after he was chosen with the third pick overall. "We have maybe five or six African-American quarterbacks that will be going in the draft today or tomorrow.

"Because of people like Doug Williams who have paved the way, it now becomes a burden on us to pave the way for the next generation," Smith added.

The Browns' pick was preordained. The expansion team had signed Couch, a Kentucky junior, before the draft. Philadelphia's selection of McNabb, the Syracuse quarterback, was also a given although some Eagles fans wanted Williams so badly that a group seated in the gallery booted when the team selected McNabb.

The shocker was the Colts' choice of James over Williams.

"Everyone felt at No. 4 that Indianapolis was going to take a running back — everyone assumed it was Ricky Williams," said the Washington general manager, Charley Casserly, who now has three first-round picks next year.

"We were wrong. So we moved back two spots, got a No. 1 next year and the player we were going to take at No. 5. When we put that all together, it's a pretty good deal for us."

The New York Giants surprisingly took an offensive tackle, Luke Petitout of Notre Dame, in the first round. He was projected as a second-rounder, but it could be a good choice for the Giants who have gotten stars such as Michael Strahan and Jason Sehorn with second-round picks.

Dallas traded up two picks to take Ebenezer Ekuban, a defensive end from North Carolina, to bolster a defensive line weakened by free-agent defections and the potential drug suspension of Leon Lett. Arizona used its second first-round pick to get an offensive tackle, L.J. Shelton of Eastern Michigan.



AT THE HEAD OF THE PACK — Leaders in the men's event of the London Marathon, which was held Sunday, crossing Tower Bridge. Abdelkader Mouaziz of Morocco won the men's race in 2:23:21. Joyce Chepchumba of Kenya won the women's event in 2:23:21.

## SCOREBOARD

### BASEBALL

#### MAJOR LEAGUE STANDINGS

AMERICAN LEAGUE		NATIONAL LEAGUE	
EAST DIVISION	WEST DIVISION	EAST DIVISION	WEST DIVISION
Boston 6-4, Pct. .66	Seattle 5-5, Pct. .455	Baltimore 5-4, Pct. .500	Chicago 4-6, Pct. .400
Toronto 7-4, Pct. .547	Kansas City 4-5, Pct. .400	New York 5-7, Pct. .417	Detroit 4-7, Pct. .474
New York 5-7, Pct. .417	Seattle 5-7, Pct. .417	Tampa Bay 5-7, Pct. .417	Baltimore 5-7, Pct. .417

#### NATIONAL LEAGUE

#### EAST DIVISION

#### WEST DIVISION

#### CENTRAL DIVISION

#### SUPER DIVISION

#### FRIDAY LINE SCORES

#### AMERICAN LEAGUE

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## SPORTS

## Pirates' Rally in Ninth Tops Reds

*The Associated Press*

**CINCINNATI** — Mike Benjamin tripled and scored the go-ahead run when Dennis Reyes mishandled a ninth-inning comebacker, and the Pittsburgh Pirates went on to beat the Cincinnati Reds 4-2, on Sunday.

With the score 2-all, Benjamin tripled off Danny Graves' (1-2) leading off the ninth. Pinch-hitter Jason Kendall was

**NBA ROUNDUP**

intentionally walked, and Benjamin scored when Reyes misplayed Adrián Brown's grounder. Kendall and Brown advanced on a double steal, and Kendall scored on Warren Morris' groundout.

Rich Leiselle (1-1) got one out for the win, and Mike Williams got three outs for his second save.

In his first major league start, Todd Ritchie allowed one run and six hits in 6½ innings, struck out five and walked three. He also went 2-for-2 at the plate, getting his first base hit in the big leagues. The Cincinnati starter, Steve Avery, gave up two runs and six hits in seven innings.

**Expos 4, Mets 2** Jose Vidro and Rondell White both homered in the first inning as Montreal overcame two homers by John Olerud to beat the host Mets. Javier Vazquez (1-1) had little trouble with the rest of the Mets lineup, allowing two runs, five hits and one walk in seven innings.

Montreal needed just two pitches to take a 2-0 lead. Orlando Cabrera grounded the first pitch of the game from Allen Watson (1-1) between short and third for a single. Vidro hit the next pitch to dead center for his second home.

**In games played Saturday:**

**Rockies 5, Braves 4** John Rocker is used to overpowering people with a 100-mile-per-hour fastball, but this time it was his turn to be blown away. Rocker, trying to settle in at Atlanta's new closer, gave up three runs in the ninth inning as Colorado rallied in Denver.

**Brewers 5, Cubs 4** Geoff Jenkins's two-out RBI double capped a five-run comeback in the bottom of the ninth inning and rallied host Milwaukee.

**Dodgers 7, Padres 3** Gary Sheffield homered twice and the pinch-hitter Devon White hit a three-run homer as Los Angeles won in San Diego.

tiansen (1-1) closed with two scoreless innings for the victory, as the Pirates won for the first time on the road. Gabe White (0-1) struck out three in the ninth, but gave up the winning run in the 10th.

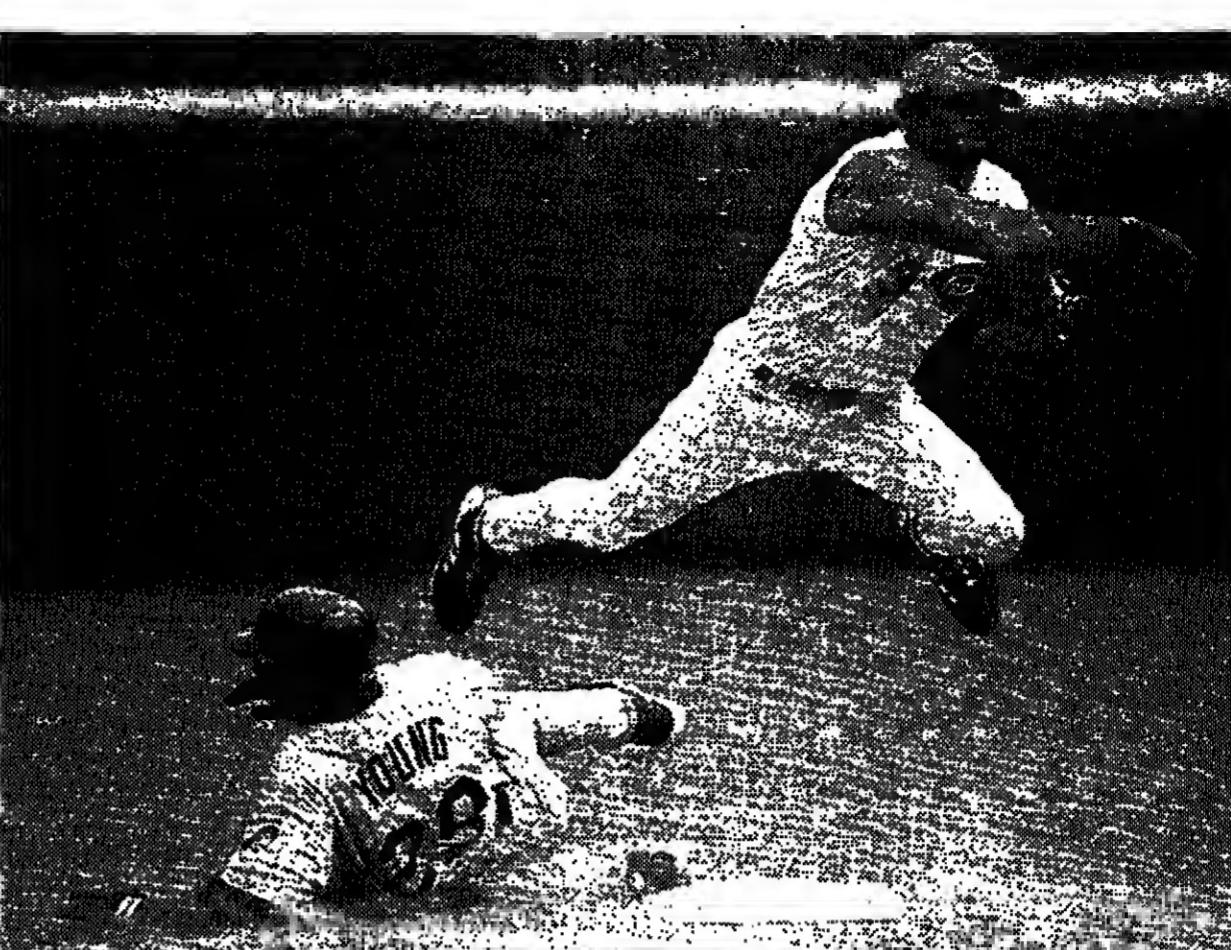
**Mets 2, Expos 2** Bobby Jones survived a shaky first three innings to win his third straight start, and Bobby Bonilla drove in the go-ahead run with an infield grounder as New York Mets rallied at home past Montreal.

**Giants 6, Diamondbacks 5** Ellis Burks hit a three-run double and Rich Aumilia and Scott Servais hit two-run homers as San Francisco beat Arizona in Phoenix.

**Cardinals 8, Astros 5** In Houston, Jose Jimenez pitched shutout ball into the eighth and a fellow rookie, J.D. Drew, hit a three-run triple as St. Louis beat Houston for its fourth straight victory.

**Phillies 2, Marlins 1** Doug Glanville singled home the winning run with one out in the bottom of the ninth as Philadelphia defeated Florida at home.

**Dodgers 7, Padres 3** Gary Sheffield homered twice and the pinch-hitter Devon White hit a three-run homer as Los Angeles won in San Diego.



The Reds' Pokey Reese avoiding a hard slide by the Pirates' Kevin Young to turn a double play on Sunday.

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by The Associated Press  
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## Pierce's 26 Points Carry the Celtics

*The Associated Press*

**Paul Pierce tied his season-high with 26 points as the depleted Boston Celtics, despite losing Antoine Walker to an injury, defeated the Washington Wizards, 101-98, on Sunday.**

Walker sprained his left ankle 5½ minutes into the first quarter and did not return. The visiting Celtics were already

**NBA ROUNDUP**

missing guards Ron Mercer (back spasms) and Kenny Anderson (strained hamstring). Walter McCarty added 16 points and Vitaliy Potapenko had 15 for the Celtics, who kept the Wizards from winning three in a row for the second time this season.

Rod Strickland scored 12 of his season-high 31 points in the fourth quarter to help Washington rally, but Boston made eight of 12 free throws in the final two minutes to preserve the victory.

**Net 86, 76ers 79** Allen Iverson scored just six points on 2-of-17 shooting and ceased being the league's leading scorer as the Nets shut him down once again.

It was just the 11th time in 194 career



Raptors' Charles Oakley, left, re-bounding over Knicks' Kurt Thomas.

## Gretzky '100% Sure' of Decision to Quit

By Helene Elliott  
*Los Angeles Times Service*

**RYE, New York** — Wayne Gretzky cannot change his mind about retiring. He would have to return the baseball glove-shaped leather recliner and lifetime-major-league baseball pass that his teammates gave him Saturday as farewell gifts.

Not that the New York Rangers' most prominent player was inclined to reverse the decision he announced Friday. He acknowledged feeling nervous about his final game Sunday night against the Pittsburgh Penguins and about the planned tribute at Madison Square Garden. But he remained determined to retire while hockey is fun, not work.

"Reality is setting in now," he said after the Rangers' practice Saturday.

"Emotionally, I'm drained, to say the least. But I haven't even had a little falter or thought I've made the wrong decision. I'm 100 percent sure."

Wearing his trademark turtleneck sweater beneath his jersey, Gretzky appeared relaxed and laughed easily on the ice. When it ended, his teammates gave him a stick-pounding salute and surrounded him for a group photo.

"I find myself focusing in on him and soaking everything up," the wing Adam Graves said. "He's a classy guy, and he always deflects the spotlight to other people."

The starts of other scheduled NHL games Sunday were delayed so fans elsewhere could watch a pregame tribute to Gretzky. He has invited friends and relatives to join him from Edmonton, Alberta, his first NHL home; from North Carolina, where a former Edmonton teammate, Paul Coffey, plays for the Hurricanes; from Hawaii, Florida, Toronto and across Canada.

It was not clear if the former Edmonton and Ranger teammate Mark Messier would attend. The two are not as close as they once were, and Messier is said to still resent that Gretzky did

not intercede with Ranger management and ensure that Messier was re-signed two years ago.

"I've told everybody, 'Just enjoy the game,'" Gretzky said.

"I don't think I've ever been in a situation like this before. I've been in the Olympics, Canada Cup, seventh games, but I don't think I can compare to what it will be like."

Gretzky, an avid baseball fan, said he was surprised by his teammates' generosity Saturday.

"It's very thrilling, very flattering," he said. "I'm just a fan now."

Not yet — not before playing one more game and, perhaps, adding to his remarkable 894 goals and 2,856 points.

"I like to score every game — I would love to score," he said of his final game.

"Let's put it this way: If I get a hat trick, it's not going to change my mind, and if I don't score, it's not going to kill me."

*In other games. The Associated Press reported:*

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Instead, the expression that stuck with the Red Sox on Saturday was the pain on Tom Gordon's face after the closer hurt his right elbow, a look that caused the catcher Jason Varitek to sprint to the mound in the ninth inning, followed almost immediately by the manager, Jimy Williams, the pitching coach, Joe Kerrigan, and the trainer, Jim Rowe.

"He just grimaced," Varitek said. "It was a bad look on the mound. I saw it happen once before in Double A, to a kid named Germonio Newton. He threw an

**Blue Jays 7, Orioles 4** David Wells won his third straight start, and Toronto extended its winning streak to four with a victory at home over Baltimore.

Wells (3-0) gave up two runs and six hits in 6½ innings. He struck out six and walked three, and also hit Albert Belle with a pitch in apparent retaliation for an earlier brushback. Graeme Lloyd got his first save.

**Tigers 3, Yankees 1** In Detroit, Andy Pettitte pitched six shutout innings against Detroit in his first start of the year, but a bullpen breakdown sent New York to its third straight loss.

Pettitte, out since April 4 because of a strained left elbow, left with a 1-0 lead after the second of two delays for rainy weather.

**White Sox 6, Royals 5** Magglio Ordonez hit a two-run single, and Chicago scored another run on an error by the rookie center fielder Carlos Beltran as the White Sox, down to their last out in the ninth inning, rallied past Kansas City in Missouri.

**Athletics 11, Rangers 3** Jason Giambi homered twice and drove in four runs, and three teammates had two RBIs apiece as the host Oakland Athletics defeated Texas.

**Twins 13, Indians 5** Matt Lawton drove in a career-high six runs with a grand slam and a two-run double as Minnesota beat Cleveland, 13-8, in 11 innings, snapping the Indians' eight-game winning streak and giving the Twins a split of the day-night doubleheader in Ohio.

Cleveland won the first game, 5-1, behind four RBIs by Manny Ramirez and the pitching of Charles Nagy (2-0).

**Mariners 4, Angels 3** In Anaheim, California, David Segui homered in the 10th inning as Seattle snapped a four-game losing streak.

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Herald Tribune  
INTERNATIONAL  
**SPORTS**

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MONDAY, APRIL 19, 1999

**WORLD ROUNDUP**

**Uruguay Nips Brazil**

**SOCER** Uruguay capitalized on a controversial penalty call with four minutes left in the game to beat Brazil, 2-1, on Sunday in the quarterfinals of the Youth World Cup in Lagos, Nigeria.

Uruguay was awarded the deciding penalty kick when a Brazilian defender, Juan, was called for a foul on Cesar Pellegrin. Nestor Canobbio converted the penalty, with many spectators at National Stadium voicing disapproval of the call.

Uruguay advanced to a semifinal game Wednesday against the winner of a late game Sunday between Japan and Mexico.

Brazil dominated most of the contest but managed only Fernando Baiano's 27th-minute goal. (AP)

**Belgrade Runners Cheered**

**ATHLETICS** Ignoring heavy rain and chilly winds — not to mention a wartime atmosphere — tens of thousands of people gathered over the weekend to cheer runners in the annual Belgrade marathon and an accompanying 5-kilometer (3-mile) "Fun Run."

But it wasn't a race, in real terms. Most of the competitors in the marathon Saturday ran at the same pace, joining hands after 3 hours and 15 minutes to cross the finish line together in a show of unity.

Under the motto "Stop the war — run the world," 49 athletes from Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Germany, Macedonia, Russia and the United States ran the full marathon of 42.195 kilometers. (AP)

**Victorious Vandenbroucke**

**CYCLING** Frank Vandenbroucke, a Belgian rider with the Cofidis team, earned his first World Cup victory in the 264-kilometer (165-mile) Liege-Bastogne-Liege cycling classic in Belgium on Sunday.

Vandenbroucke made his break six kilometers from the finish and outsprinted the Dutch rider Michael Boogerd of the Rabobank team.

Another Dutchman, Maarten den Bakker, came in third. (AP)



Frank Vandenbroucke earning his first World Cup victory.

## Lazio Hears Footsteps As AC Milan Triumphs

### Rome Team's Serie-A Lead Is Cut to One Point

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

**ROME** — Oliver Bierhoff scored twice against his former club and Zvonimir Boban scored his first two goals in more than a year Sunday as AC Milan rooted Udinese, 5-1, to draw within one point of the fading Serie A leader, Lazio.

George Weah chipped in with a goal and two assists as Milan extended its unbeaten string to six games.

Bierhoff headed in passes from Weah in the 45th minute and Demetrio Albertini in the 60th. The German forward led the league with 27 goals last season for Udinese but moved to Milan over the summer along with Coach Alberto

Feyenoord needs just one more victory to clinch its 14th league championship. Leo Beenhakker's efficient team from Rotterdam made sure of that by downing NAC Breda, 1-0, on Sunday. A goal at 38 minutes by Danish striker Jon Dahl Tomasson made the difference.

PSV Eindhoven and Vitesse Arnhem meet Tuesday and are the only two teams with a mathematical chance of catching Feyenoord, which holds a 16-point lead with six rounds to play.

But whether either team grabs a crucial victory in the chase for the second spot and automatic Champions League qualification, Feyenoord (22-4-2) needs a victory against Roda JC Kerkrade on Wednesday to ensure its title.

Ajax lost, 3-1, to Fortuna Sittard. Fortuna had the better scoring chances, and Regilio Simons poked in a deserved first goal at 70 minutes. A minute later, Mark van Bommel picked up a careless clearance by Mario Melichot and made it 2-0. But when Ajax's Jari Litmanen headed in a goal from a free kick, the final stages started to look interesting.

Yet the Amsterdammers withered, giving Fortuna its first-ever victory at Ajax. It was Ajax's fourth-straight league defeat, which last happened in 1962.

**GERMANY** Hamburger SV and Borussia Dortmund played to a lackluster 0-0 draw in a Bundesliga match Sunday that produced no changes in the standings.

Dortmund remained two places behind a possible spot next season in the Champions League, which it won in 1997. Dortmund has won only one match on the road this season.

**SPAIN** Celta Vigo lost vital momentum in the race for the Spanish first division title Sunday as it was held to a 1-1 draw at home against Alaves.

Celta, which looked like a genuine title contender in overwhelming Real Madrid, 5-1, a week ago, was cut down to size against Alaves, falling behind to a Vitamina Sanchez strike at 53 minutes.

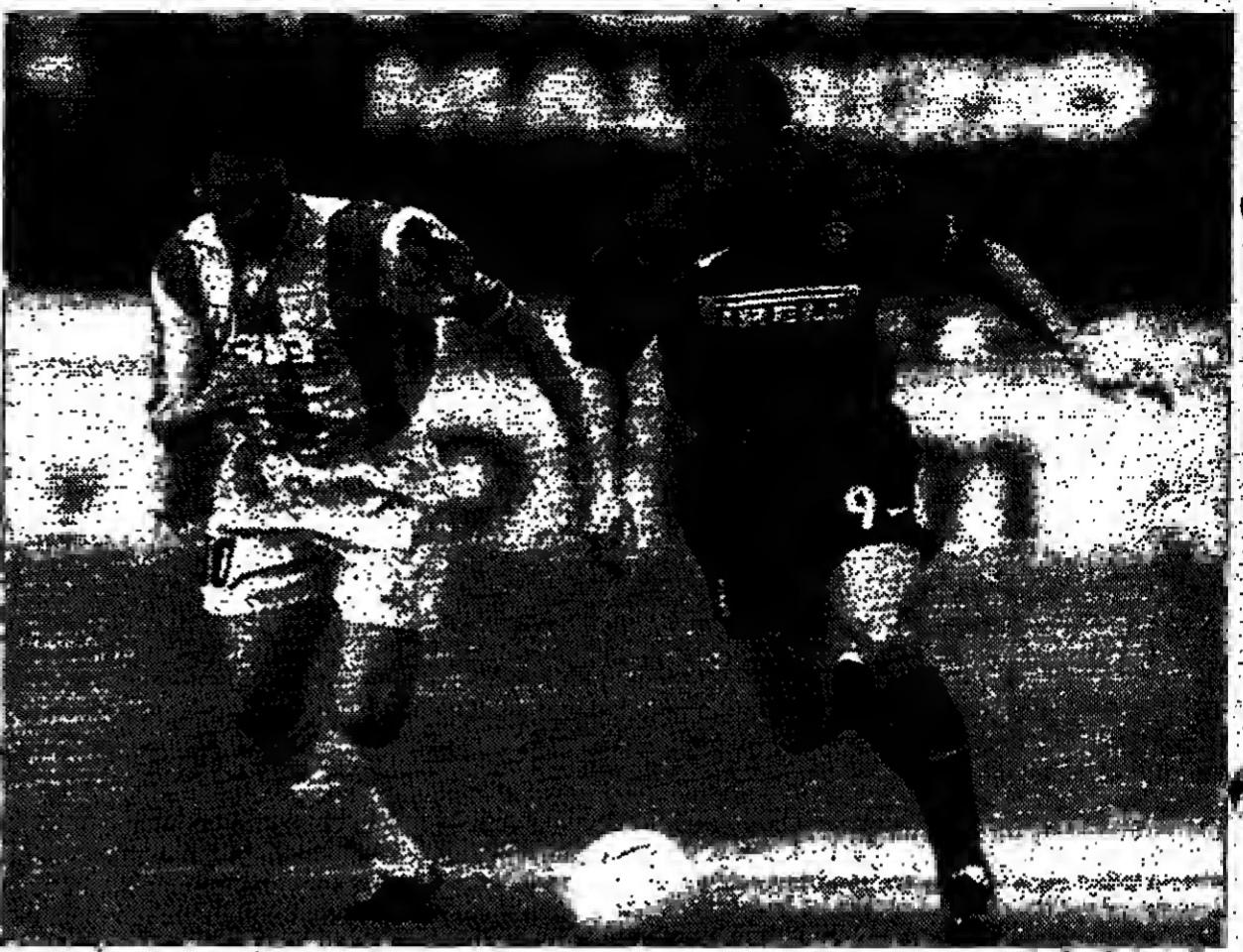
Celta equalized two minutes later on a Juan Sanchez header, but despite having almost all the possession time after that, the team could not find a way through the massed Alaves defense a second time.

Celta's slip leaves Barcelona nine points ahead at the top of the standings, following its 2-1 victory at home over Mallorca on Saturday.

After 30 matches, Barcelona has 62 points, with Celta clinging to second with 53. Deportivo, with its 2-1 triumph at Villarreal, moved up to join Valencia and Mallorca at 51 points.

**FRANCE** Two goals in the last two minutes of extra time gave the defending French champions, Lens, a 2-0 League Cup semifinal victory over Sochaux, reviving the club's hopes of competing in the UEFA Cup next season.

**ASIAN CUP WINNERS' CUP** Two goals from the Moroccan international Ahmed Bahia, one in sudden-death extra time, helped Al Ittihad become the third consecutive Saudi Arabian team to win the Asian Cup Winners' Cup, defeating the Chunnam Dragons of South Korea, 3-2, on Sunday. (AP, Reuters, AFP)



Inter Milan's Brazilian striker Ronaldo, right, running past Fabio Viviani of Vicenza in a 1-1 draw Sunday.

## Russia Reaches Fed Cup Semifinals

The Associated Press

**MOSCOW** — Elena Likhovtseva and Elena Makarova of Russia beat Nathalie Tauziat and Amelia Manresmo of France, 6-0, 7-6 (7-5), in a decisive doubles match Sunday to move Russia into the Fed Cup World Group I semifinals with a 3-2 victory.

The teams traded leads in the second set, but the Russians then seized a 6-5 lead and Likhovtseva sent a forehand winner between the French players to take the tie-breaker. "The Russian team is a very strong team, and a brave one," French coach Guy Forget said afterward.

In the first reverse singles match, Likhovtseva, the top Russian player, defeated Tauziat to give Russia a 2-1 lead. She closed the first set in 36 minutes and jumped ahead in the opening game of the second to take a 4-1 lead. Tauziat then double-faulted three times.

Tauziat saved two match points in the fifth game, but in the next game, Likhovtseva fired her third ace of the match and put Russia ahead.

Tatiana Panova, ranked 71st on the WTA Tour, then lost to Manresmo in three sets. Manresmo, the Australian Open runner-up this year, easily won the first set and was ahead in the second. But hard-running Panova managed to break her opponent in the 11th game and her serve in the next to stay in the match.

Manresmo briefly struggled against a tired Panova but then won the third set, 6-1. "I got tired and lost concentration," said Panova, who lost her first of eight Fed Cup matches. Of

Manresmo, she said: "She attacks and presses all the time and leads the game. She plays men's tennis. She moves, rotates and steps like a man. I never saw anything like this before."

In the semifinal, Russia will play Slovakia, which downed Switzerland in another World Group I match in Zurich.

### ■ Mantilla Wins in Home Town

Felix Mantilla of Spain defeated Karim Alami of Morocco on Sunday to win the Barcelona Open, 7-6 (7-2), 6-3, 6-3. The Associated Press reported.

Mantilla played the same consistently strong game he had played throughout the tournament, in which he lost just one set. "For me this is a dream come true," the Barcelona native said after the match. "To win in front of friends and family makes it the happiest day of my career, and their support gave me wings."

Alami fought back from a 4-0 deficit to take a 6-5 lead in the first set using the same powerful serve and net game that prevailed over Todd Martin of the United States in the semifinals Saturday. But Mantilla won the tiebreaker, 7-2.

It was an even second set until Mantilla broke Alami's serve in the eighth game to go up 5-3, and from then on it was all Mantilla.

### ■ Kiefer Captures Japan Open

Fifth-seeded Nicolas Kiefer of Germany defeated seventh-seeded Wayne Ferreira of South Africa, 7-6 (7-5), 7-5, on Sunday to win the Japan Open, his first title in two years and his second

overall. The Associated Press reported from Tokyo.

In the women's final, second-seeded Amy Frazier of the United States beat the top-seeded defending champion, Ai Sugiyama of Japan, 6-2, 6-2, for her second Japan Open title.

Kiefer, ranked No. 26 in the world, showed he was the sturdier, more resilient player against the No. 28 Ferreira as he won the closely contested first set in a tiebreaker.

In the second set, Ferreira had a chance to come back when he broke Kiefer's service in the 10th game to even the score at 5-5. But a double fault and two weak returns cost him the next game. Kiefer finished the 1-hour-and-44-minute match with three tough serves and a forehand winner down Ferreira's backhand line.

Kiefer, 21, served six aces and won 66 percent of his service points. Ferreira, 27, had five aces and won 64 percent of his serves.

Kiefer's only previous title was in Toronto in 1997. His victory Sunday could bring him close to a ranking in the Top 20 for the first time in his career.

"It was pretty close; I could have won," Ferreira said. "My first goal was to get to a final. The next one will be to win a tournament. And then the ranking takes care of itself."

In the women's event, Frazier, who won the tournament in 1995, played solidly from the outset and broke the error-prone Sugiyama at love in the opening set's fifth game and again in the seventh before closing out the set in 29 minutes.



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